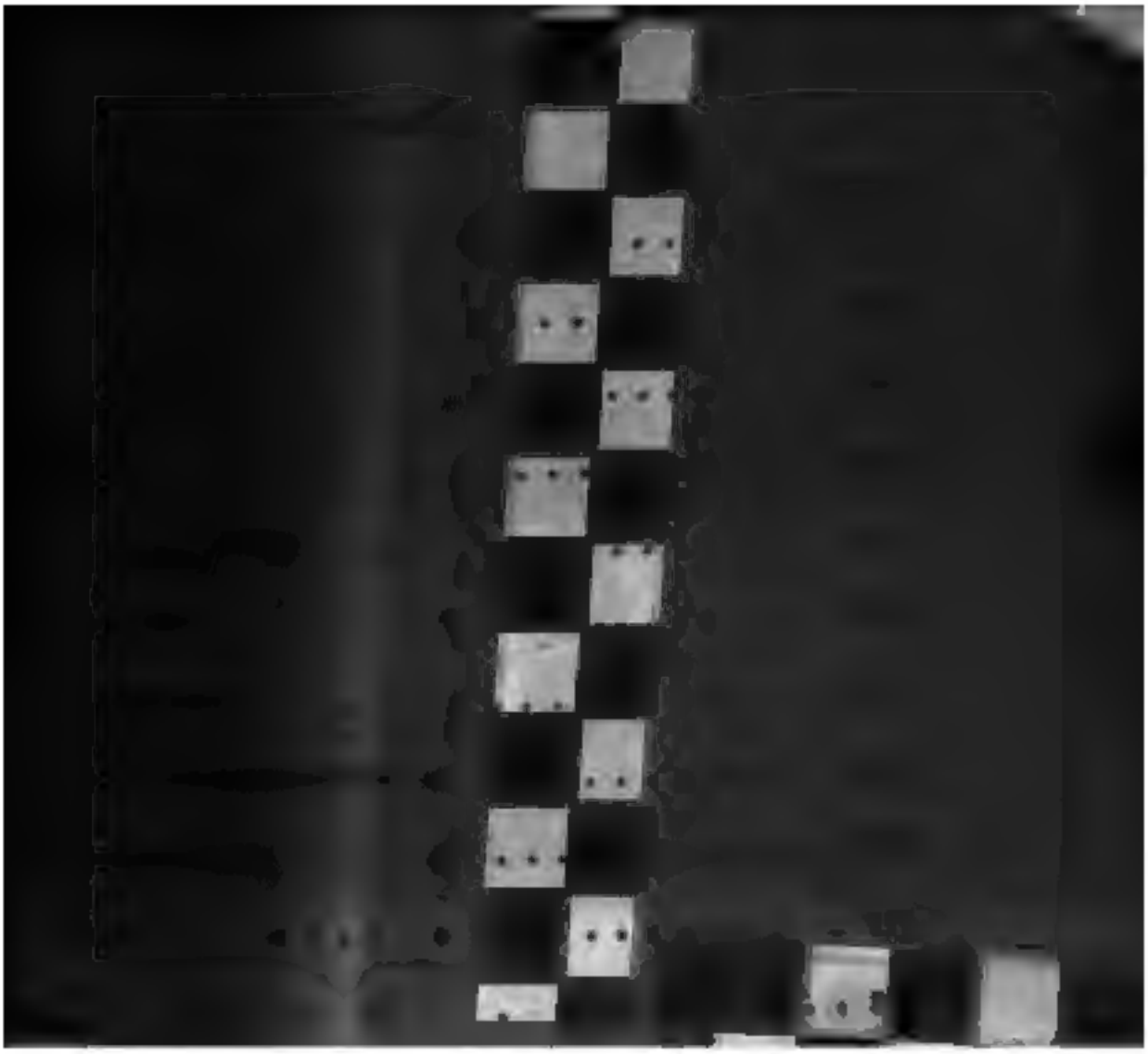

HISTORICAL SKETCHES

OF

STATESMEN

WHO FLOURISHED IN

THE TIME OF GEORGE III.;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

REMARKS ON PARTY, AND AN APPENDIX.

FIRST SERIES.

VOLUME I.

BY

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1853.

CONTENTS.

STATESMEN

OF THE

[E OF GEORGE III.

INTRODUCTION.

rs of men, the interests and the history of
:he relative value of institutions as disco-
:heir actual working, the merits of different
›f policy as tried by their effects, are all
›erfectly examined without a thorough
·e of the individuals who administered the
ınd presided over the management of the
ncerns. The history of empires is, indeed,
y of men, not only of the nominal rulers
:ople, but of all the leading persons who
. sensible influence over the destinies of
ow-creatures, whether the traces of that
survived themselves, or, as in the case of
ıds, their power was confined to their own

ı another view, this kind of inquiry, this

species of record, is even more important
only the world at large is thus instructed, b
character of statesmen and rulers is imp
Examples are held up of the faults which th
to avoid, and of the virtues which they are
tivate. Nor can history ever be the school
tentates, whether on or near the throne, un
character and the conduct of their predece
thoroughly scrutinized. This task has be
tempted in the following work, which
therefore, to a higher office than merely a
the vacant hours of the idle (the hours
more unemployed than the bulk of their time
aims at recording, for the warning or for
couragement of the great, the errors or the
the vices or the virtues, of their predecesso
is a well-meant contribution, of which the
very humbly rated by its author, to the
Useful Knowledge as applied to the Educa
those upon whose information or ignorance
tunes of mankind in an especial manner
But, how moderate soever may be the m
the contributor, the value of the contributio
not easily be estimated too highly, if, by only
the facts with careful accuracy, and drawi
inferences with undeviating candour, tho
voluntarily assume the government of nati
taught to regard their duties as paramount
interests, and made to learn that ignorance

[illegible] by having placed [illegible] of others—their [illegible] vice, their glo- [illegible] in well-doing. This [illegible] t if the friends of [illegible] duty, of peace, of freedom, [illegible] while their enemies, [illegible] of ambition or avarice, and [illegible] for their fellow-creatures [illegible] or their blood, are ex- [illegible] hatred of after-ages.

[illegible] h a work, undertaken [illegible] whom it undertakes to [illegible] arthly scene, arises from the [illegible]ficulty of preserving strict impartiality in consi- [illegible]ring their merits. This difficulty is not denied; [illegible] formidable magnitude is not underrated. Even [illegible] no human feelings with respect to men, between [illegible]hom and ourselves there may have existed rela- [illegible] of amity or of hostility, swayed the mind, yet [illegible] we ever prone to view through a distorting [illegible]edium those whose principles agreed with or [illegible]fered from our own upon questions still of daily [illegible]ecurrence—of men, too, whose party connexions [illegible]ited them with classes still in existence and [illegible]tively engaged in the proceedings of the present [illegible]y.

But, while this is admitted to render the attempt [illegible]ficult, it may not be found to make it hopeless.

At any rate we are placed in a choice of
postponement till the day when there sh
possibility of passion or prejudice shading
of the historian may extinguish the rec
also, which alone can give value to his
The transfer of the work to mere stran
can be animated by no feeling of a perso
leaves it in hands, if not altogether in
performing it satisfactorily, at least inc
inferior in the power of giving vivid lik
contemporary statesmen. At the very le
portraitures may be regarded as material
tory, if not worthy of being called histori
selves; and future penmen may work u
with the benefit of contemporary testim
facts, though free from the bias which
influenced the conclusions. The author
affirm, and this he does most conscientio
he has ever felt under a sacred obligation
the truth of his resemblances without eit
geration or concealment: that he has
endeavoured to write, as if he had lived in
age or country from those whose rulers h
deavoured to describe; and that, if any
or predilections have operated upon his
have been unknown to himself. He is q
that some may consider this as a very
test of his impartiality, if they do not ra
it an additional symptom of blind pre

he thinks the praise bestowed upon known po-
al adversaries, and the disapproval, admitted
e just, of conduct frequently held by the party
whose services to the cause of freedom he is
t grateful, will be taken as some evidence of
ral impartiality, though it may not suffice to
apt him from the charge of having sometimes
arily fallen into the snares that beset the path
hoever would write contemporary annals.

GEORGE III.

The centre figure round which the others th
compose this picture group themselves, and wi
which they almost all have relations, is that
George III., a prince whose long reign, during
far the most important period in the history of
human race, rendered his character and condu
matter of the deepest interest not only to the pe
of his vast dominions, but to all mankind.
presided over the destinies of the British Em
the only free state in the world, during a
that witnessed the establishment of indepen
in the new hemisphere, and the extension of
over a great portion of the old. He rul
most enlightened nation of modern times
civilization, rapidly spreading in all dir
dispelled the remains of feudal darkness in
carried its light over other quarters of th
and discovered and cultivated unknown
Wherefore, his capacity, whether to app
position, or to aid in the progress of his
his species, if he should have the wisdom
the right path, or to obstruct it, shou

uously deem resistance the better course, was a matter of the greatest importance both to himself personally, to the order in which his lot was cast, and to the rest of mankind. Unhappily he took the wrong direction; and, having once taken, persevered in it with the pertinacity that marks little minds of all ranks, but which in royal understandings often amounts to a mental disease.

Of a narrow understanding, which no culture had enlarged; of an obstinate disposition, which no education, perhaps, could have humanized; of strong feelings in ordinary things, and a resolute attachment to all his own opinions and predilections, George III. possessed much of the firmness of purpose which, being exhibited by men of contracted mind without any discrimination, and as pertinaciously when they are in the wrong as when they are in the right, lends to their characters an appearance of inflexible consistency, which is often mistaken for greatness of mind, and not seldom received as a substitute for honesty. In all that related to his kingly office he was the slave of deep-rooted selfishness; and no feeling of a kindly nature ever was allowed access to his bosom, whenever his power was concerned, either in its maintenance or in the manner of exercising it. In other respects, he was a man of amiable disposition, and few princes have been more exemplary in their domestic habits, or in the offices of private frien-

ship. But the instant that his prerogativ
concerned, or his bigotry interfered with,
will thwarted, the most unbending pride, th
bitter animosity, the most calculating cold
heart, the most unforgiving resentment, too
session of his whole breast, and swayed it by
The habits of friendship, the ties of blood, t
tates of conscience, the rules of honesty, wer
forgotten; and the fury of the tyrant, wi
resources of a cunning which mental aliena
supposed to whet, were ready to circumven
destroy all who interposed an obstacle to the
ness of unbridled desire. His conduct thro
the American war, and towards the Irish p
has often been cited as illustrative of the dar
of his public character; and his treatment
eldest son, whom he hated with a hatred s
consistent with the supposition of a sound
might seem to illustrate the shadier part
personal disposition; but it was in truth o
other part of his public, his professional co
for he had no better reason for this imp
aversion than the jealousy which men have
successors, and the consciousness that the
who must succeed him, was unlike him, and
disliked by him, must, during their joint li
thrown into the hands of the Whig party,
versaries he most of all detested and feared.

Although much of the character now po

rigin in natural defect, and part of it in a
ıged with disease, yet they who had the
his youth are deeply answerable for the
which both added to it many defects, and
d those of nature from being eradicated or
cted. His mother, the Dowager Princess,
roman of neither knowledge, accomplish-
or abilities; and she confided his education
iend, now generally believed to have stood
e tender relation towards her, Lord Bute.
nt of instruction of which George III.
mplain must have been great indeed; for,
an was little likely to overrate the value
fluous or extensive information, it was he.
vitness, above all suspicion, Sir Herbert
has recorded that he lamented, while he
, his want of education. Can there be a
ıneful thing related? Can any parties, in
on of his Royal parent. and her favourite,
y of a more disgraceful breach of duty than
the future monarch of a free and enlight-
ıple without the instruction which all but
ır classes of his subjects give to their chil-
a matter of course?

not deficient in natural quickness, and the
ıularly industrious because of his habitually
te life, he made himself thoroughly master
ıe ordinary details of business; insomuch,
same high authority has ascribed to him a

more thorough knowledge of the duties of
several department in the state than any other
ever possessed; and this is the testimony of
both singularly accurate in stating facts, and
nently qualified to form such a comparative
mate by his own intimate acquaintance with
details. We must, however, take care not to
rate the difficulty or the value of this acquire
Kings have a peculiar interest in ascertainin
bounds of each department's duties and r
They find protection in keeping each with
own limits. Coming, of necessity, into fre
contact with them all, monarchs can easily
the knowledge of their several prerogative
functions; so that this becomes like heraldry
etiquette, wherein they are all great profi
emphatically a Royal branch of knowledge.
proofs remain, nor has even any assertion
made, that he had any familiarity with the
branches of information connected with state
the constitution and privileges of parliament
jurisdiction of Courts; the principles, nay,
the details of banking, or of trade generally
East India or Colonial affairs of his Empire
interests of foreign countries; the statistics
own; all of them kinds of knowledge as cer
worthy of princes as they are generally de
by them. That he was a diligent man of bu
punctual to his appointments, regular in the

[illegible]tion of [illegible] t when his mechanical interposition [illegible] u always ready to continue at work until the affair in hand was despatched, nor ever a [illegible] pleasure or distraction of any kind to interf[illegible]e with the transaction of the matters belonging to his high station, is as undeniable as that all this might be predicated of one who had the most limited capacity, or the most confined information, and who had little else to recommend him than the strict sense of his official duties, and the resolution to make everything yield to the discharge of them, those duties being much more of the hand than the head.

But it would be a great mistake to imagine that George III.'s ambition was confined within the range of his abilities. He was impressed with a lofty feeling of his prerogative, and a firm determination to maintain, perhaps extend it. At all events, he was resolved not to be a mere name, or a cipher in public affairs; and, whether from a sense of the obligations imposed upon him by his station, or from a desire to enjoy all its powers and privileges, he certainly, while his reason remained entire, but especially during the earlier period of his reign, interfered in the affairs of government more than any prince who ever sat upon the throne of this country since our monarchy was distinctly admitted to be a limited one, and its executive functions were distributed among responsible mini-

The correspondence which he carried on with his confidential servants during the ten most critical years of his life lies before us, and it proves that his attention was ever awake to all the occurrences of the government. Not a step was taken, foreign, colonial, or domestic affairs, that he did not form his opinion upon it, and exercise his influence over it. The instructions to ambassadors, the orders to governors, the movements of forces down to the marching of a single battalion in the districts of this country, the appointments to offices in church and state, not only the giving away of judgeships, bishoprics, regiments, but subordinate promotions, lay and clerical; all these form the topics of his letters; on all his opinions pronounced decisively; on all his will is decided peremptorily. In one letter he decides the appointment of a Scotch puisne judge; in another the march of a troop from Buckinghamshire into Yorkshire; in a third the nomination to the Deanery of Worcester; in a fourth he says that, "if Chambers, the architect, succeeds Worsley at the Board of Works, he shall think Chambers ill used."*

For the greater affairs of state it is well to know how substantially he insisted upon being king *de facto* as well as *de jure*. The American

* This was in 1777, in the middle of the most critical moment of the American contest; the letter preceding relates to the state of affairs.

g exclusi n of the Liberal party, the French
tion, the Catholic question, are all sad mo
's of his real power. Of all his resolutions
se affairs, the desire to retain America in
ion seems to have been his strongest pro-
; during the whole contest all his opinions,
feelings, and all his designs, turned upon
e termed the "preservation of the empire."
as his rooted prejudice against both the
and the French unconnected with the part
th took in behalf of the colonies. Rather
dit his hold over those provinces and receive
igs into his confidence, or do what he called
itting to be trampled on by his enemies,"
ne time threatened to abdicate, and they
new him are well aware that he did not
a without a fixed resolution to act. No less
rice within four days, in March 1778, did
this language, in the agony of his mind, at
a junction with the Whig party proposed by
ef minister; and upon one occasion he says,
e people will not stand by me, they shall
other king, for I never will set my hand to
ill make me miserable to the last hour of
." The threat is revived upon the division
Lord North four years afterwards.

such a sovereign was, for the servants he
l in, the best possible master, may well be
d. He gave them his entire and hearty

support. If he kept a watchful eye
proceedings both of parliament and t
if we find him one day commenting
taken in debate as "dangerous," at anot
and vacillating," or discussing the co
the majority or its numbers upon the
suggesting that the journey of Mr. F
should "make the different departme
all their business before he comes back,
have much less noise for the next th
or expressing his conviction that "th
illness is feigned, and all to let the opp
their pleasure at Newmarket;" he also
deserted you last night that you though
right to count upon? Give me their
may mark my sense of their behaviour
ing-room to-morrow;" and again, "If
obsequiousness on my part, at the l
can gain over Mr. Solicitor-General to
it shall not be wanting." This was,
ciently supporting a favourite ministry
he had one forced upon him. his wh
was the reverse; all his countenance
to their antagonists, until the moment
he could safely throw them out.

The first impression which such co
is unfavourable to the monarch, and
sight even give rise to an opinion th
constitutional But further reflection

[illegible] The question is, [illegible] the king of this [illegible] hold a real or only [illegible] office? Is [illegible] a form, or is he a [illegible]tive power in ou[illegible] and balanced con-[illegible]tion?" Some maintain, nay, it is a prevailing [illegible] among certain [illegible] of no mean rank, [illegible] this sovereign, h[illegible] his ministers, [illegible] over to them [illegible] whole [illegible]cutive power. [illegible] treat him as a kind of tr[illegible] for a temporary [illegible] to preserve, as it were, s[illegible] contingent estate; [illegible] provisional assign[illegible], to hold the property of [illegible]solvent for a day, and then divest himself of [illegible] estate by assigning it over. They regard the [illegible] power really vest[illegible] in the crown to be the [illegible]ice of ministers, and even the exercise of this [illegible] be controlled by the parliament. They reduce [illegible] king more completely to the condition of a [illegible] pageant or state cipher than one of Abbé [illegible]yes's constitutions did, when he proposed to [illegible]e a Grand Functionary with no power except [illegible] give away offices; upon which Napoleon, then [illegible] consul, to whom the proposition was tendered, [illegible]ed if it well became him to be made a "Cochon [illegible] Pengrais à la somme de trois millions par an?"* [illegible] English animal, according to the Whig doc-[illegible]ne, much more nearly answers this somewhat [illegible] description; for the Abbé's plan was to give

* A hog to be fatted at the rate of 120,000*l.* a-year.

his royal beast a substantial voice in the di
bution of all patronage; while our lion is onl
have the sad prerogative of naming whomsoe
the parliament chooses, and eating his own m
in quiet.

Now, with all the disposition in the world
desire that Royal prerogative should be restric
and the will of the nation govern the natio
affairs, we cannot comprehend this theory of a
narchy. It assigns to the Crown either far
much revenue, or far too little power. To p
million a-year, or more, for a name, seems
surdly extravagant. To affect living unde
kingly government, and yet suffer no kind of kin
power, seems extravagantly absurd. Surely
meaning of having a sovereign is, that his v
should be heard, and his influence felt, in the
ministration of public affairs. The different or
of the state have a right to look towards that h
quarter all in their turn for support when t
rights are invaded by one another's encroachme
or to claim the Royal umpirage when their mu
conflicts cannot be settled by mutual concessio
and unless the whole notion of a mixed monarc
and a balance of three powers, is a mere fiction
a dream, the royal portion of the composition
be allowed to have some power, to produce
effect upon the quality of the whole. It i
denied that George III. sought to rule too m

kindness nor an injury. Nor can this sk
more appropriately closed than with two r
able examples of the implacable hatred he b
enemies, and the steady affection with wh
cherished his friends.

Among the former, Lord Chatham held th
conspicuous place, apparently from the time
American question; for at an earlier pe
correspondence with that great man wa
friendly. But the following is his answer t
North's proposal that Lord Chatham's
should be settled in reversion on his young
afterwards so well known as the second
Pitt. It bears date August 9th, 1775.
making Lord Chatham's family suffer for th
duct of their father is not in the least agree
my sentiments. But I should choose to kn
to be totally unable to appear again on the
stage before I agree to any offer of that ki
it should be wrongly construed into a fear
and indeed his political conduct the last wi
so abandoned, that he must, in the eyes of
passionate, have totally undone all the meri
former conduct. As to any gratitude to
pected from him or his family, the whole
their lives has shown them void of that most
able sentiment. But *when decrepitude or de*
an end to him as a trumpet of sedition, I sh
no difficulty in placing the second son's nam
of the father's, and making up the pension

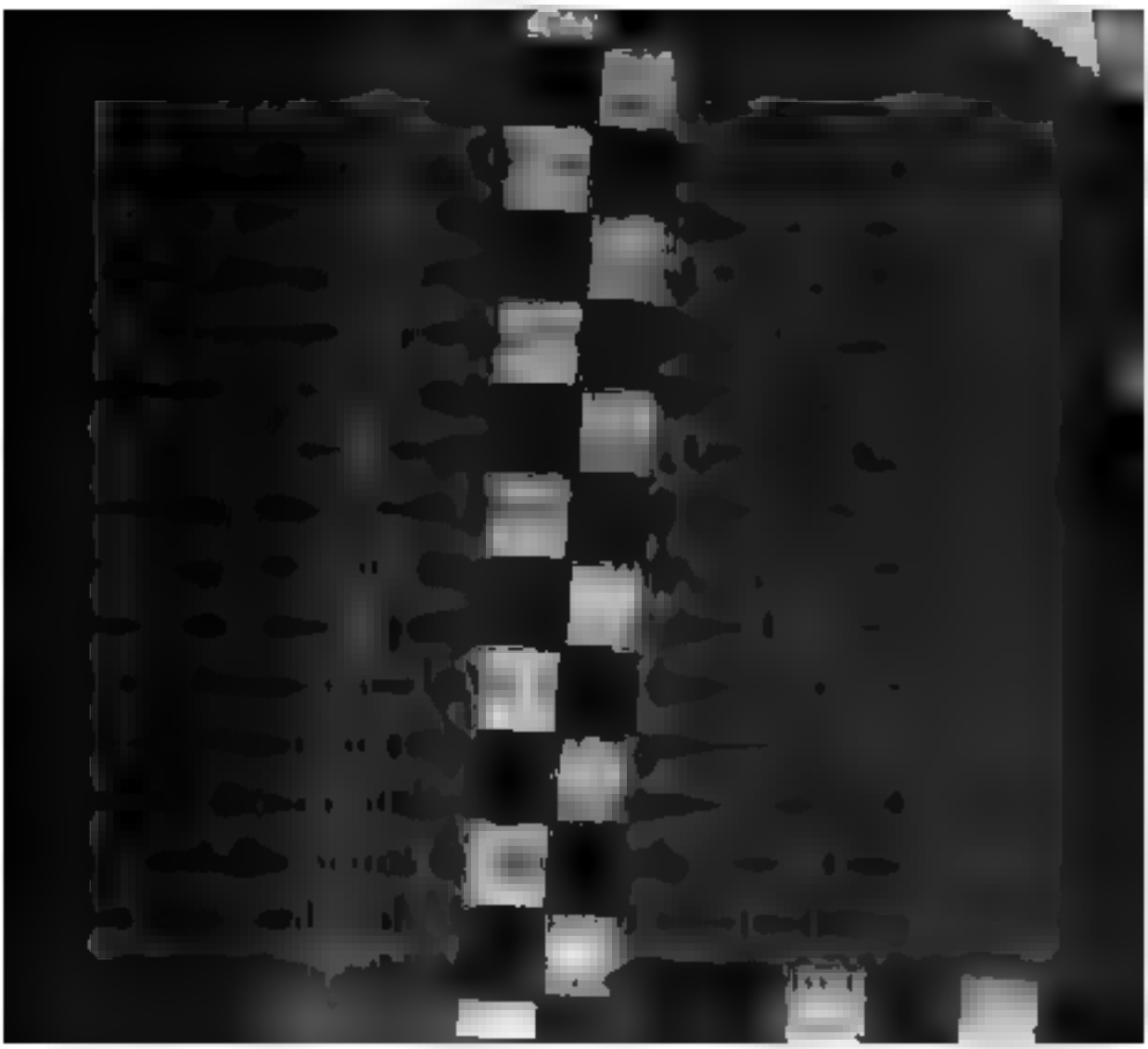
From the truly savage feelings which this letter displays, it is agreeable to turn the eye upon so amiable a contrast as the following affords, written to the minister whom he ever loved beyond all his other servants, and only quitted when the Coalition united him to the Whigs:—

"Having paid the last arrears (Sept. 1777) on the Civil List, I must now do the same for you. I have understood, from your hints, that you have been in debt ever since you settled in life. I must therefore insist that you allow me to assist you with 10,000*l.*, or 15,000*l.*, or even 20,000*l.*, if that will be sufficient. It will be easy for you to make an arrangement, or at proper times to take up that sum. You know me very ill if you think not that, of all the letters I ever wrote to you, this one gives me the greatest pleasure; and I want no other return but your being convinced that I love you as well as a man of worth, as I esteem you as a minister. Your conduct at a critical moment I never can forget."

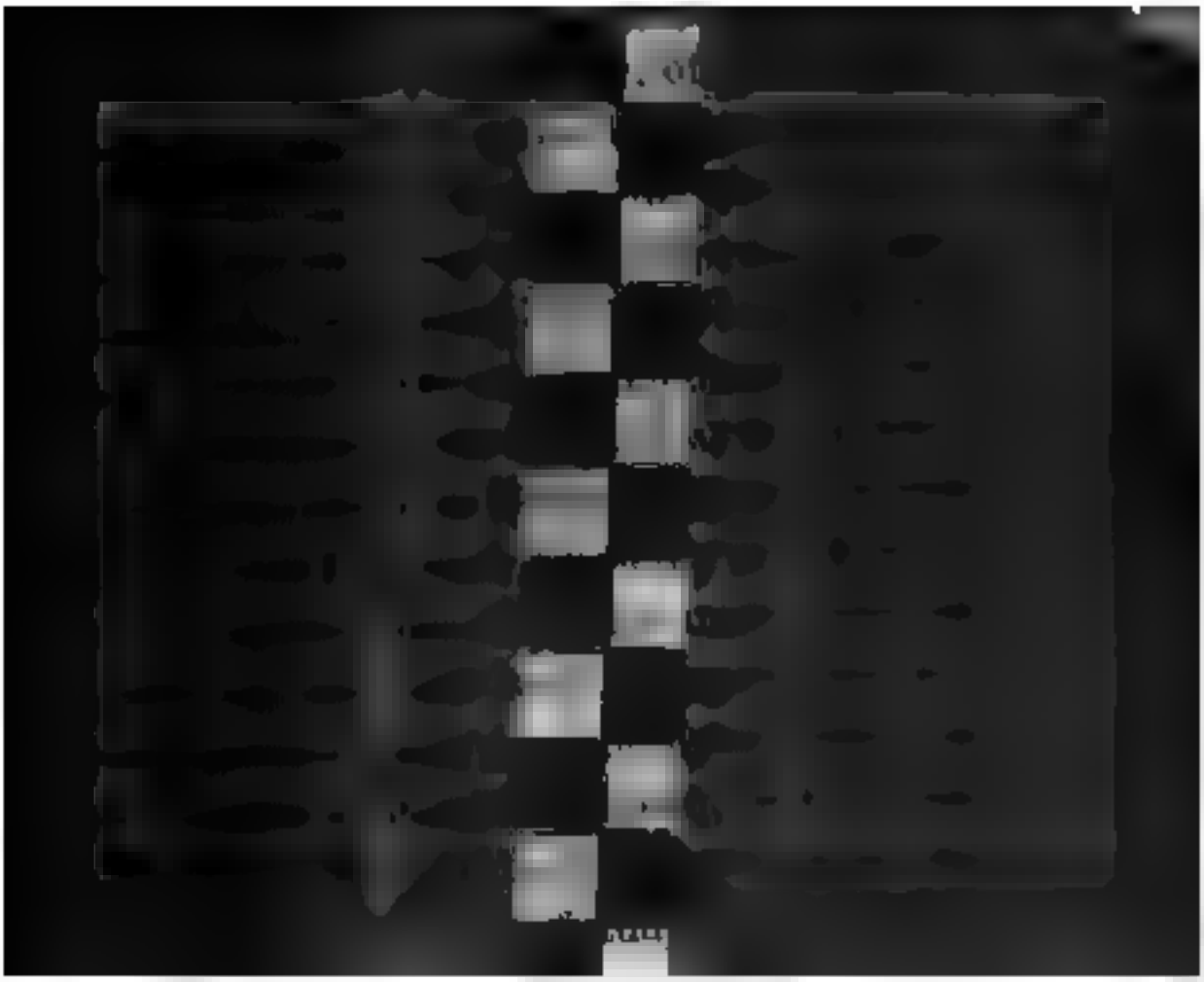
These remarkable and characteristic letters naturally introduce to us his two celebrated correspondents, Lord Chatham and Lord North; the one, until Mr. Fox came upon the stage, of all his adversaries, the one he pursued with the most unrelenting hatred; the other, of all his servants, the one for whom he felt the warmest friendship.

LORD CHATHAM.

THERE is hardly any man in modern times, the exception, perhaps, of Lord Somers, who so large a space in our history, and of whom know so little, as Lord Chatham; and yet the person to whom every one would at once p if desired to name the most successful state and most brilliant orator that this country produced. Of Lord Somers, indeed, we can scar be said to know anything at all. That he w person of unimpeachable integrity, a judge of capacity and learning, a firm friend of liberty a cautious and safe counsellor in most dif emergencies, all are ready to acknowledge. the authority which he possessed among his temporaries, the influence which his sound practical wisdom exercised over their proceed the services which he was thus enabled to r in steering the constitution safe through the trying times, and saving us from arbitrary p without paying the price of our liberties in an and bloodshed,—nay, conducting the whole ceedings of a revolution with all the delibera



public. At one period they were given
feigned names, as if held in the Senate of
by the ancient orators and statesmen; at
they were conveyed under the initials only
names borne by the real speakers. Even
somewhat later, these disguises were thrown
the speeches were composed by persons w
not been present at the debates, but gleane
heads of each speaker's topics from some o
had heard him; and the fullest and most au
of all those accounts are merely the meag
line of the subjects touched upon, preserved
Diaries or Correspondence of some contem
politicians, and presenting not even an appr
tion to the execution of the orators. Thu
of Lord Chatham's earlier speeches in the
of Commons, as now preserved, were av
the composition of Dr. Johnson, whose int
style, formal periods, balanced antitheses, an
want of pure racy English, betray their aut
every line, while each debater is made to
exactly in the same manner. For some yea
he ceased to report, or rather to manufactur
is, from 1751 downwards, a Dr. Gordon fu
the newspapers with reports, consisting of
more accurate accounts of what had pa
debate, but without pretending to give mo
the mere substance of the several speeches.
debates upon the American Stamp Act, in



short of presumption, after this statement, to a
including his character as an orator in the
which may be given of this great man. Bu
testimony of contemporaries may so far be
by what remains of the oratory itself, as to
some faint conceptions attainable of that eloq
which, for effect at least, has surpassed any
in modern times.

The first place among the great qualities
distinguished Lord Chatham, is unquestionab
to firmness of purpose, resolute determinati
the pursuit of his objects. This was the ch
teristic of the younger Brutus, as he said, wh
spared his life to fall by his hand—*Quicquid*
id valde vult; and although extremely apt to
in excess, it must be admitted to be the foun
of all true greatness of character. Every
however, depends upon the endowments in com
of which it is found; and in Lord Chatham
were of a very high order. The quickness
which he could ascertain his object, and di
his road to it, was fully commensurate wit
perseverance and his boldness in pursuing it
firmness of grasp with which he held his adva
was fully equalled by the rapidity of the g
with which he discovered it. Add to this, a
eminently fertile in resources; a courage
nothing could daunt in the choice of his mea
resolution equally indomitable in their applic

tinental powers in unnatural union to effec
destruction; with an army of insignificant am
and commanded by men only desirous of gra
at the emoluments, without doing the duti
incurring the risks of their profession; with a
that could hardly keep the sea, and whose
vied with their comrades on shore in earnin
character given them by the new Minister
being utterly unfit to be trusted in any enter
accompanied with the least appearance of da
with a generally prevailing dislike of both ser
which at once repressed all desire of joining e
and damped all public spirit in the countr
extinguishing all hope of success, and eve
love of glory—it was hardly possible for a
to be placed in circumstances more inauspicio
military exertions; and yet war raged in
quarter of the world where our dominion exte
while the territories of our only ally, as we
those of our own sovereign in Germany,
invaded by France, and her forces by sea and
menaced our shores. In the distant possessio
the Crown the same want of enterprise a
spirit prevailed. Armies in the West were
lysed by the inaction of a Captain who
hardly take the pains of writing a despat
chronicle the nonentity of his operations;
the East, while frightful disasters were b
upon our settlements by Barbarian powe

ilitary capacity that appeared in their de-
was the accidental display of genius and
by a merchant's clerk, who thus raised him-
celebrity.* In this forlorn state of affairs,
rendered it as impossible to think of peace,
less to continue the yet inevitable war, the
d sordid views of politicians kept pace with
an spirit of the military caste; and parties
plit or united, not upon any difference or
ent of public principle, but upon mere
s of patronage and of share in the public
while all seemed alike actuated by one only
, the thirst alternately of power and of

oon as Mr. Pitt took the helm, the steadi-
the hand that held it was instantly felt in
motion of the vessel. There was no more of
ng counsels, of torpid inaction, of listless
ancy, of abject despondency. His firmness
confidence, his spirit roused courage, his
ce secured exertion, in every department
his sway. Each man, from the first Lord
Admiralty down to the most humble clerk
Victualling Office—each soldier, from the
nder-in-Chief to the most obscure contractor
missary—now felt assured that he was act-
was indolent under the eye of one who knew

* Mr. Clive, afterwards Lord Clive.

his duties and his means as well as his own, who would very certainly make all defau whether through misfeasance or through no sance, accountable for whatever detrimen commonwealth might sustain at their hands. his immediate coadjutors his influence swiftly tained an ascendant which it ever after retaine interrupted. Upon his first proposition for chan the conduct of the war, he stood single amon colleagues, and tendered his resignation e they persist in their dissent; they at once cumbed, and from that hour ceased to hav opinion of their own upon any branch of the p affairs. Nay, so absolutely was he determin have the control of those measures, of whic knew the responsibility rested upon him alone, he insisted upon the first Lord of the Adm not having the correspondence of his own de ment; and no less eminent a naval character Lord Anson, as well as his junior Lords, obliged to sign the naval orders issued by Mr. while the writing was covered over from eyes!

The effects of this change in the whole ma ment of the public business, and in all the pl the Government, as well as in their execution, speedily made manifest to the world. The G troops were sent home, and a well-regulated being established to defend the country, a

sonable force was distributed over the various
tions whence the enemy might be annoyed.
ce, attacked on some points, and menaced on
ers, was compelled to retire from Germany,
n afterwards suffered the most disastrous defeats,
l, instead of threatening England and her allies
h invasion, had to defend herself against attack,
losing severely in several of her most important
al stations. No less than sixteen islands, and
lements, and fortresses of importance, were
n from her in America, and Asia, and Africa,
luding all her West Indian colonies, except St.
mingo, and all her settlements in the East.
e whole important province of Canada was like-
e conquered; and the Havannah was taken
m Spain. Besides this, the seas were swept clear
the fleets that had so lately been insulting our
onies, and even our coasts. Many general
ions were fought and gained; one among them
most decisive that had ever been fought by our
ry. Thirty-six sail of the line were taken or
troyed; fifty frigates; forty-five sloops of war.
brilliant a course of uninterrupted success had
ver, in modern times, attended the arms of any
tion carrying on war with other states equal to
in civilisation, and nearly a match in power.
t it is a more glorious feature in this unexampled
ministration which history has to record, when
adds, that all public distress had disappeared;

that all discontent in any quarter, both
colonies and parent state, had ceased; that
pression was anywhere practised, no abuse
to prevail; that no encroachments were made
the rights of the subject, no malversation tol
in the possessors of power; and that England
the first time and for the last time, presented
astonishing picture of a nation supporting w
murmur a widely-extended and costly war,
people, hitherto torn with conflicting parti
united in the service of the commonwealth th
voice of faction had ceased in the land, and
discordant whisper was heard no more. "T
(said the son of his first and most formidabl
versary, Walpole, when informing his correspo
abroad, that the session, as usual, had ended
out any kind of opposition or even of deba
"These are the doings of Mr. Pitt, and th
wondrous in our eyes!"

To genius irregularity is incident, and
greatest genius is often marked by eccentric
if it disdained to move in the vulgar orbit.
he who is fitted by his nature, and trained b
habits, to be an accomplished "pilot in extre
and whose inclinations carry him forth "to
the deep when the waves run high," may be fo
not "to steer too near the shore," yet to despi
sunken rocks which they that can only be s
in calm weather would have more surely av

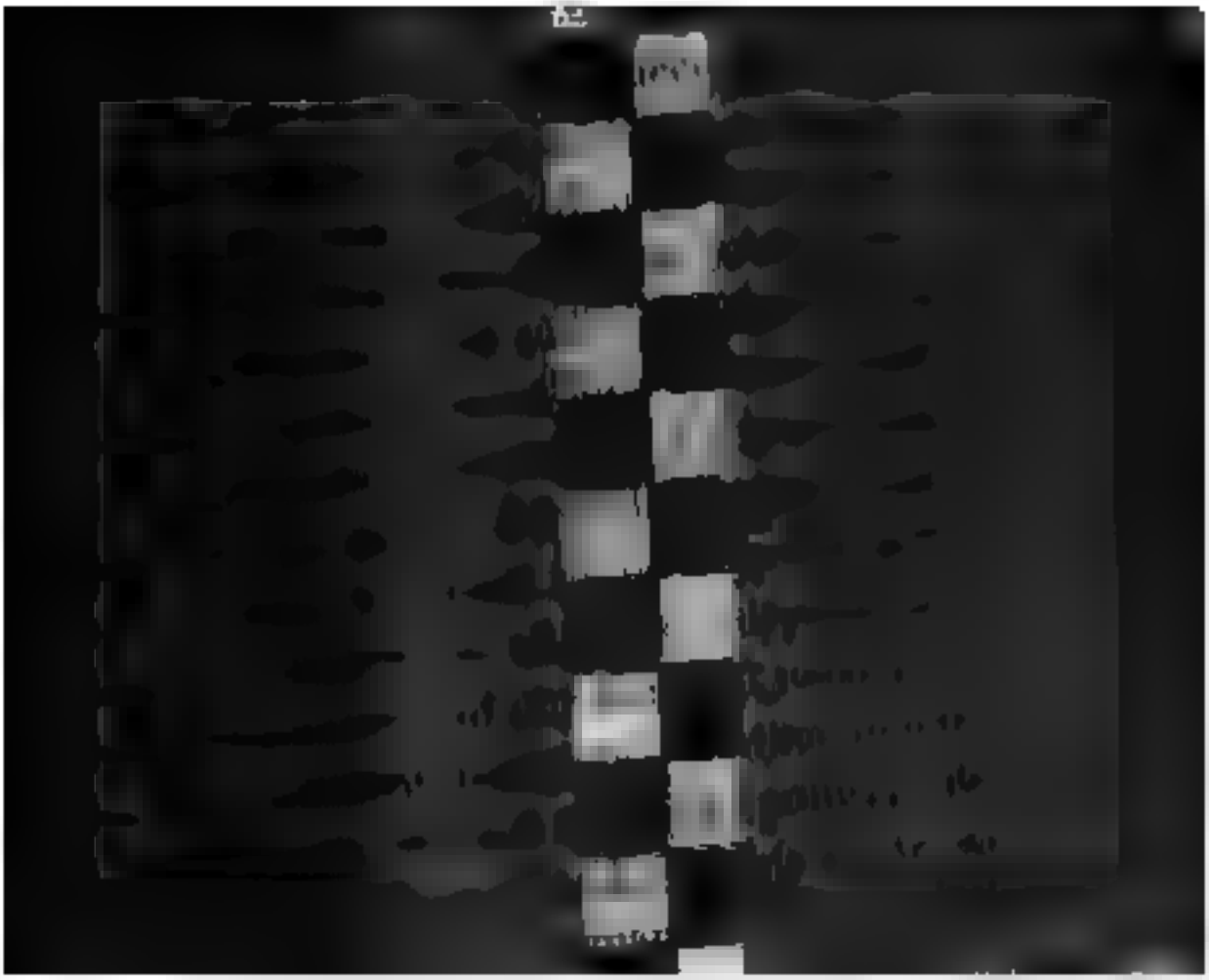
this rule it cannot be said that Lord Chatham forded any exception; and although a plot had tainly been formed to eject him from the Minis-y, leaving the chief control of affairs in the feeble nds of Lord Bute, whose only support was court vour, and whose chief talent lay in an expertness intrigue, yet there can be little doubt that this heme was only rendered practicable by the stility which the great Minister's unbending bits, his contempt of ordinary men, and his glect of every-day matters, had raised against him among all the creatures both of Downing-street and St. James's. In fact, his colleagues, who necessarily felt humbled by his superiority, were needlessly mortified by the constant display of it; and it would have betokened a still higher reach of understanding, as well as a purer fabric of patriotism, if he, whose great capacity threw those subordinates into the shade, and before whose vigour in action they were sufficiently willing to yield, had united a little suavity in his demeanour with his extraordinary powers, nor made it always necessary for them to acknowledge as well as to feel their inferiority. It is certain that the insulting arrangement of the Admiralty, to which reference has been already made, while it lowered that department in the public opinion, rendered all connected with it his personal enemies; and, indeed, though there have since his days been Prime

Ministers whom he would never hav
sit even as puisne lords at his boards,
like himself again to govern the cou
miralty chief, who might be far infe
Anson, would never submit to the hu
flicted upon that gallant and skilful
Pitt's policy seemed formed upon th
that either each public functionary
to himself in boldness, activity, and
that he was to preside over and anim
partment in person. Such was his
his own powers, that he reversed th
governing, never to force your way w
win it; and always disdained to insin
could dash in, or to persuade where h
mand. It thus happened that his co
but nominally coadjutors, and thoug
not thwart him, yet rendered no he
aid his schemes. Indeed it has cle
since his time that they were chiefly
yield him implicit obedience, and le
vided direction of all operations in h
the expectation that the failure of wh
wont to sneer at as "Mr. Pitt's vi
turn the tide of public opinion agai
prepare his downfall from a height of
felt that there was no one but himsel
possess him.

The true test of a great man—that

[illegible] his [illegible]
[illegible]—is his having [illegible] in [illegible]
This it is which d[illegible] or
[illegible]ried forward the g[illegible] h[illegible] i[illegible]
[illegible]ment; has conform[illegible]d his [illegible] a[illegible]ted
[illegible]duct to the existing circ[illegible]f soc[illegible],
[illegible]ged those so as to better its o[illegible] has
[illegible]me of the lights of the world, or only re-
[illegible] the borrowed rays of former luminaries,
[illegible]t in the same shade with the rest of his gene-
[illegible] at the same twilight or the same dawn.
[illegible] by this test, the younger Pitt cannot cer-
[illegible] be said to have lived before his time, or
[illegible]pon the age to which he belonged the
[illegible]nation of a more advanced civilisation and
[illegible]inspired philosophy. He came far too early
[illegible]ublic life, and was too suddenly plunged into
[illegible]ol of office, to give him time for the study
[illegible]he reflection which can alone open to any
[illegible] how vigorous soever may be its natural
[illegible]tution, the views of a deep and original wis-
[illegible] Accordingly it would be difficult to glean,
[illegible]all his measures and all his speeches, anything
[illegible]e fruits of inventive genius; or to mark any
[illegible] of his mind having gone before the very
[illegible]ary routine of the day, as if familiar with any
[illegible] that did not pass through the most vulgar
[illegible]standings. His father's intellect was of a
[illegible]r order; he had evidently, though without

much education, and with no science o
yet reflected deeply upon the principle
action, well studied the nature of men,
dered upon the structure of society. H
frequently teem with the fruits of such
to which his constantly feeble health p
rise rather than any natural proneness
plative life, from whence his taste must
alien; for he was eminently a man of a
appeals to the feelings and passions we
result of the same reflective habits, and th
ance with the human heart which they
him. But if we consider his opinions, tho
and enlightened upon every particular
they rather may be regarded as felicitou
adaptation to the actual circumstances i
was called upon to advise or to act, th
cating that he had seen very far into fu
and anticipated the philosophy which
perience should teach to our more adva
the world. To take two examples fro
subjects upon which he had both th
most, and been the most strenuously
handling practically as a statesman,—o
with France and with America:—Th
narrow notions of natural enmity with
natural sovereignty over the other, were
of his whole opinions and conduct in
arguments. To cultivate the relation



of modern times, of which so little that can
on as authentic has been preserved; unless
that of Pericles, Julius Cæsar, and Lord
broke. Of the actions of the two first
sufficient records, as we have of Lord Ch
of their speeches we have little that can be
as genuine; although, by unquestionable
we know that each of them was second
the greatest orator of their respective co
while of Bolingbroke we only know, fro
Swift, that he was the most accomplished
of his time; and it is related of Mr.
younger), that when the conversation roll
lost works, and some said they should p
storing the books of Livy, some of Tac
some a Latin tragedy, he at once decid
speech of Bolingbroke. What we kno
own father's oratory is much more to be
from contemporary panegyrics, and accou
effects, than from the scanty, and for the
doubtful, remains which have reached us.

All accounts, however, concur in rep
those effects to have been prodigious. T
and vehemence which animated its greater

* Thucydides gives three speeches of Pericles
may very possibly have in great part compose
Sallust's speech of Cæsar is manifestly the w
composition, indeed it is in the exact style of
puts into Cato's mouth, that is, in his own style.

nothing but a most striking and commandin
could have made it possible to attempt,
exceed belief. Some of these sallies are
examples of that approach made to the lud
by the sublime, which has been charged upo
as a prevailing fault, and represented und
name of *Charlatanerie*,—a favourite phras
his adversaries, as in later times it has bee
the ignorant undervaluers of Lord Erskine.
related that once in the House of Commo
began a speech with the words "Sugar
Speaker,"—and then, observing a smile to p
the audience, he paused, looked fiercely a
and with a loud voice, rising in its not
swelling into vehement anger, he is said to
pronounced again the word "Sugar!" three
and having thus quelled the house, and exting
every appearance of levity or laughter,
round and disdainfully asked, "Who will
at sugar now?" We have the anecdote upo
traditional authority; that it was believed by
who had the best means of knowing Lord Ch
is certain; and this of itself shows their se
the extraordinary powers of his manner, an
reach of his audacity in trusting to those pow

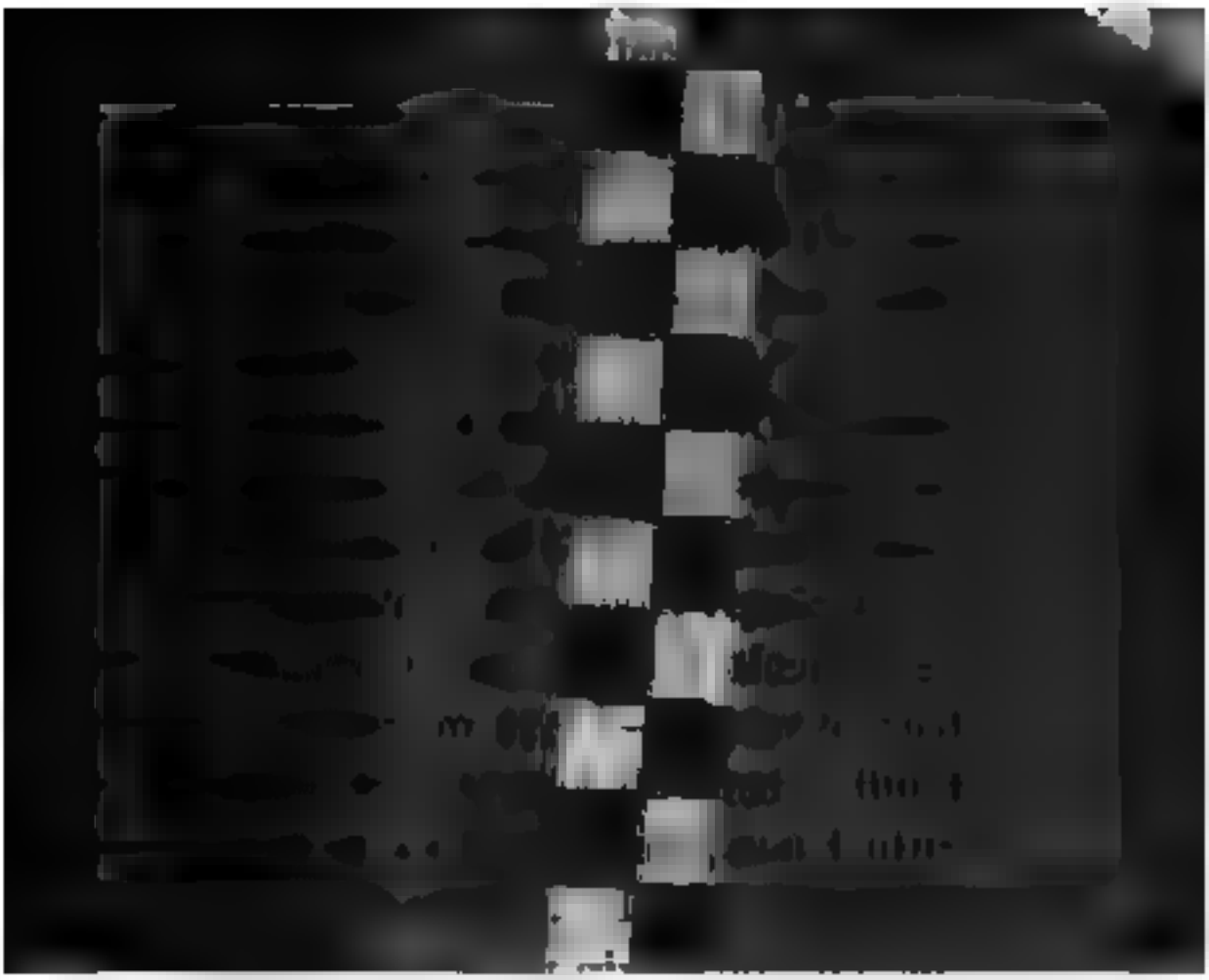
There can be no doubt that of reasonin
sustained and close argument,—his speeche
but little. His statements were desultory, t
striking, perhaps not very distinct, certainly

although he was a less eminent master of s
than his son, and rather overwhelmed his
gonist with the burst of words and vehement
nation, than wounded him by the edge of rid
or tortured him with the gall of bitter sco
fixed his arrow in the wound by the barb of
gram. These things seemed, as it were, to be
too much labour and too much art—more
than was consistent with absolute scorn—mo
than could stand with heart-felt rage, or
contempt inspired by the occasion, at the mo
and on the spot. But his great passages, the
which he has come down to us, those which
his eloquence its peculiar character, and to
its dazzling success was owing, were as sudde
unexpected as they were natural. Every on
taken by surprise when they rolled forth—
one felt them to be so natural, that he could
understand why he had not thought of them
self, although into no one's imagination had
ever entered. If the quality of being n
without being obvious is a pretty correct de
tion of felicitous expression, or what is called
writing, it is a yet more accurate representati
fine passages, or felicitous *hits* in speaking.
these all popular assemblies take boundless de
by these above all others are the minds of
dience at pleasure moved or controlled.
form the grand charm of Lord Chatham's ora

smile, very courteous, but not very respectf
said—"Confide in you? Oh no—you must p
me, gentlemen—*youth* is the season of credul
confidence is a plant of slow growth in an
bosom!"

Some one, having spoken of "the obstin
America," said "that she was almost in op
bellion." Mr. Pitt exclaimed, "I rejoice
America has resisted. Three millions of p
so dead to all the feelings of liberty as volun
to let themselves be made slaves, would have
fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest
Then speaking of the attempt to keep her do
"In a just cause of quarrel you may crush Am
to atoms; but in this crying injustice" (S
Act)—"I am one who will lift up my hands a
it—In such a cause even your success wou
hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall
the strong man; she would embrace the pill
the state, and pull down the constitution along
her. Is this your boasted peace—to sheath
sword, not in its scabbard, but in the bow
your countrymen?"—It was in this debate
Mr. Burke first spoke, and Mr. Pitt praise
speech in very flattering terms.

"Those iron barons (for so I may call
when compared with the silken barons of m
days) were the guardians of the people; and
words of their barbarous Latin, *nullus liber*



of their advisers, and been better read in th
itself, the glorious Revolution might have re
only possible in theory, and their fate wo
now have stood upon record, a formidable e
to all their successors."—"No man more
respects the just authority of the House of
mons—no man would go farther to defend it
beyond the line of the Constitution, like ev
ercise of arbitrary power, it becomes illegal,
ening tyranny to the people, destruction
state. Power without right is the most de
object that can be offered to the human i
tion; it is not only pernicious to those w
subjects, but works its own destruction.
testabitur et caduca. Under pretence of de
law, the Commons have made a law, a law f
own case, and have united in the same pers
offices of legislator and party and judge."

These fine passages, conveying sentiments
ble and so wise, may be read with advantage
present House of Commons when it shall a
called on to resist the Judges of the land,
break its laws, by opening a shop for the
libels.

His character—drawn, he says, from long
rience—of the Spaniards, the high-minded
rous Castilians, we believe to be as just
severe. Speaking of the affair of Falkland's
be said—"They are as mean and crafty as

nd proud. I never yet met with an in-
candour or dignity in their proceedings;
ut low cunning, artifice, and trick. I
elled to talk to them in a peremptory
I submitted my advice for an imme-
to a trembling council. You all know
quences of its being rejected."—The
m the throne had stated that the Spanish
nt had disowned the act of its officer.
tham said—"There never was a more
more infamous falsehood imposed on a
on. It degrades the King, it insults the
t. His Majesty has been advised to
absolute falsehood. My Lords, I beg
tion, and I hope I shall be understood
peat, that it is an absolute, a palpable
The King of Spain disowns the thief,
leaves him unpunished, and profits by his
vulgar English, he is the receiver of
ds, and should be treated accordingly."
ld all the country, at least all the canting
f it, resound with the cry of "Coarse!
rutal!" if such epithets and such com-
s these were used in any debate now-a-
ther among the "silken barons," or the
sh Commons" of our time!
5 he made a most brilliant speech on the
eaking of General Gage's inactivity, he
uld not be blamed; it was inevitable.

"But what a miserable condition," he ex
"is ours, where disgrace is prudence, and
is necessary to be contemptible! You mus
these acts," (he said, alluding to the Bosto
and Massachusetts Bay Bills,) "and you w
peal them. I pledge myself for it, that
repeal them. I stake my reputation on it.
consent to be taken for an idiot if they
finally repealed." Every one knows how
prophecy proved. The concluding senten
speech has been often cited,—"If the m
persevere in misleading the King, I will
that they can alienate the affections of his
from his crown; but I will affirm that t
make the crown not worth his wearing. I
say that the King is betrayed; but I will pr
that the kingdom is undone."

Again, in 1777, after describing the cau
war and "the traffic and barter driven wit
little pitiful German Prince that sells his
to the shambles of a foreign country," h
"The mercenary aid on which you rely irr
an incurable resentment the minds of your
whom you overrun with the sordid sons o
and of plunder, devoting them and their po
to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I
American, as I am an Englishman, while a
troop was landed in my country, I never w
down my arms, never! never! never!" S

ge, used in t modern days of ultra loyalty extreme decorum, would call down upon his l who employed it the charge of encouraging ls, and partaking as an accomplice in their sons.

t was upon this memorable occasion that he le the famous reply to Lord Suffolk, who had , in reference to employing the Indians, that e were justified in using all the means which l and nature had put into our hands." The mstance of Lord Chatham having himself re- d this speech is an inducement to insert it here ngth.

I am astonished," exclaimed Lord Chatham, as he rose, ked, to hear such principles confessed, to hear them red in this House or in this country; principles equally nstitutional, inhuman, and unchristian.

My Lords, I did not intend to have trespassed again on attention, but I cannot repress my indignation. I feel lf impelled by every duty. My Lords, we are called , as members of this House, as men, as Christian men, rotest against such notions, standing near the throne, ting the ear of majesty. *That God and nature put ur hands!*—I know not what idea that Lord may en- in of God and nature, but I know that such abominable iples are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. t! attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to nassacres of the Indian scalping-knife, to the cannibal ge, torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating; literally, Lords, eating the mangled victims of his barbarous s! Such horrible notions shock every precept of reli- divine and natural, and every generous feeling of hu- ty; and, my Lords, they shock every sentiment of

honour, they shock me as a lover of honourable war detester of murderous barbarity.

"These abominable principles, and this more abo avowal of them, demand most decisive indignation. upon that Right Reverend Bench, those holy min the Gospel, and pious pastors of the Church: I conju to join in the holy work, and to vindicate the reli their God. I appeal to the wisdom and the law Learned Bench, to defend and support the justice o country. I call upon the Bishops to interpose the u sanctity of their lawn, upon the learned Judges to inter purity of their ermine, to save us from this pollution. upon the honour of your Lordships to reverence the of your ancestors, and to maintain your own. I ca the spirit and humanity of my country to vindicate tional character. I invoke the genius of the const From the tapestry that adorns these walls, the im ancestor of this noble Lord frowns with indignation DISGRACE OF HIS COUNTRY! In vain he led your vic fleets against the boasted Armada of Spain; in vain fended and established the honour, the liberties, the r the Protestant religion of his country, against the u cruelties of Popery and the Inquisition, if these mo Popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are le amongst us, to turn forth into our settlements, amo ancient connexions, friends, and relations, the merci nibal, thirsting for the blood of man, woman, and ch send forth the infidel savage—against whom? your Protestant brethren: to lay waste their cou desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race an with these horrible hell-hounds of savage war—*hell I say, of savage war.* Spain armed herself with hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of Ameri we improve on the inhuman example of even cruelty: we turn loose these savage hell-hounds agai brethren and countrymen in America, of the same b laws, liberties, and religion, endeared to us by e

ould sancti[illegible] Lords, this awful sub-
important to our hon[illegible] n, and our
, demands the most solemn and [illegible] inquiry;
gain call upon your Lordships, and [illegible] united powers
tate, to examine it thoroughly and decisively, and to
pon it an indelible stigma of the public abhorrence.
again implore those holy Prelates of our religion to
y these iniquities from among us; let them perform
tion—let them purify this House and this country
is sin.

Lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to
me; but my feelings and my indignation were too
to have said less. I could not have slept this night
bed, or have reposed my head on my pillow, without
this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such prepos-
and enormous principles."*

re are other celebrated passages of his speeches
men's mouths. His indignant and contemp-
answer to the minister's boast of driving the
icans before the army—"I might as well
of driving them before me with this crutch!"
vell known. Perhaps the finest of them all is
lusion to the maxim of English law, that every
house is his castle. "The poorest man may
s cottage bid defiance to all the forces of the
n. It may be frail—its roof may shake—the
may blow through it—the storm may enter—
ain may enter—but the King of England can-

here hangs so much doubt upon the charge brought
t Lord Chatham, of having himself employed the
s in the former war, that the subject is reserved for
ppendix.

not enter!—all his force dares not cro
threshold of the ruined tenement!"

These examples may serve to convey a pro
curate idea of the peculiar vein of eloquence
distinguished this great man's speeches. It
the very highest order; vehement, fiery, c
the subject, concise, sometimes eminently,
boldly figurative; it was original and surp
yet quite natural. To call it argumentative
be an abuse of terms; but it had always a su
foundation of reason to avoid any appearance
consistency, or error, or wandering from th
So the greatest passages in the Greek oratio
very far from being such as could stand the
close examination in regard to their argumen
would it be hypercritical indeed to object th
mosthenes, in the most celebrated burst of
cient eloquence, argues for his policy be
warded although it led to defeat, by citi
example of public honours having been be
upon those who fell in gaining five great vi

Some have compared Mr. Fox's eloquence
of Demosthenes; but it resembled Lord Cha
just as much, if not more. It was meanw
more argumentative than either the Greek
English orator's; neither of whom carried on
of close reasoning as he did, though both kep
to their subject. It was, however, exceedin
reverse of the Attic orator's in method, in d

[illegible] It [illegible] ar [illegible] ment of any kind. Exce[illegible] in t[illegible]e [illegible] pas-[illegible], its diction wa[illegible] as slov[illegible]y, [illegible]tainly [illegible] careless as possi[illegible] bet[illegible] ni[illegible] indeed a con-[illegible]pt of all accurate [illegible] It was diffuse [illegible] the highest degree and aboun[illegible] in repetitions. While the Greek [illegible] com[illegible], almost to being [illegible], the Englishm[illegible] was di[illegible], almost to being [illegible]. How the n[illegible]tion of c[illegible]aring the two to-[illegible] ever could ha[illegible]e pre[illegible] unaccount-[illegible], unless it be that n[illegible]e supposed them alike [illegible] they were both v[illegible], and both kept the [illegible] in view rathe[illegible]r [illegible] after ornament. But [illegible] the most elabor[illegible]a[illegible] artificial compositions in the world should have been likened to the most careless, and natural, and unprepared, that were ever delivered in public, would seem wholly incredible if it were not true. The bursts of Mr. Fox, however, though less tersely and concisely composed, certainly have some resemblance to Lord Chatham's, only that they betray far less fancy, and, however vehement and fiery, are incomparably less bold. Mr. Pitt's oratory, though admirably suited to its purpose, and as perfect a business kind of speaking as ever was heard, certainly resembled none of the three others who have been named. In point of genius, unless perhaps for sarcasm, he was greatly their inferior; although, from the unbroken fluency of his appropriate language, and the power

of an eminently sonorous voice, he produced t most prodigious effect.

It remains to speak of Lord Chatham as a pr vate man, and he appears to have been in all r spects exemplary and amiable. His disposition w exceedingly affectionate. The pride, borderin upon insolence, in which he showed himself encas to the world, fell naturally from him, and witho any effort to put it off, as he crossed the thresho of his own door. To all his family he was simpl kindly, and gentle. His pursuits were of a natu that showed how much he loved to unbend himsel He delighted in poetry and other light reading was fond of music; loved the country; took pec liar pleasure in gardening; and had even an e tremely happy taste in laying out grounds. H early education appears to have been further pr secuted afterwards; and he was familiar with t Latin classics, although there is no reason to b lieve that he had much acquaintance with t Greek. In all our own classical writers he w well versed; and his time was much given reading them. A correspondence with his n phew, which Lord Grenville published abo forty years ago, showed how simple and classic his tastes were, how affectionate his feelings, a how strong his sense of both moral and religio duty. These letters are reprinted in a work wh has been published since the first edition of t

ecause the answers have since been re-
; and it contains a great body of other let-
h to and from him. Amongst the latter
e found constant tokens of his amiable dis-
.

most severe judge of human actions, the
ose searching eye looks for defects in every
, and regards it as fiction, not a likeness,
fails to find any, will naturally ask if such
cter as Lord Chatham's could be without
; if feelings so strong never boiled over in
ssions which are dangerous to virtue; if
of soul such as his could be at all times
thin the bounds which separate the adjoin-
vinces of vehemence and intemperance?
l he find reason to doubt the reality of the
which he is scrutinising when we have
the traits that undeniably disfigured it.
e have already thrown in; but they rather
des that give effect and relief to the rest,
formities or defects. It must now be fur-
corded that not only was he impracticable,
beyond all men to act with, overbearing,
usly insisting upon his own views being
by all as infallible, utterly regardless of
en's opinions when he had formed his own,
disposed to profit by the lights of their wis-
to avail himself of their co-operative efforts
—all this is merely the excess of his great

es running loose uncontrolled—but he ap-
to have been very far from sustaining the
d pitch of magnanimous independence and
disregard of sublunary interests which we
ld expect him to have reached and kept as
ter of course, from a more cursory glance
mould in which his lofty character was c
ithout allowing considerable admixture of t
y which forms earthly mortals to have enter
to his composition, how can we account for
olence of his feelings, when George III. sho
him some small signs of kindness in the closet,
n his giving up the seals of office? "I con
Sir, I had but too much reason to expect your
jesty's displeasure. I had not come prepared
this exceeding goodness. Pardon me, Sir
passionately exclaimed, "it overpowers—
presses me!" and he burst into tears in th
sence of one who, as a moment's reflection
have convinced him, was playing a part to
mine his character, destroy his influence, an
teract all his great designs for his countr
But some misplaced sentiments of loyalty
produced this strange paroxysm of devotio
colour assumed by his gratitude for fav
ferred upon his family and himself was
vulgar hue, and still less harmonised
Great Commoner's exalted nature. On
King's intention to grant him a pensi

to undo him), he writes to Lord Bute a
of the most humiliating effusions of ex-
thankfulness — speaks of "being con-
th the King's condescension in deigning
ne thought on the mode of extending to
al beneficence,"—considers "any mark
tion flowing from such a spontaneous
lemency as his comfort and his glory,"
trates himself in the very dust for daring
e kind of provision tendered "by the
manner so infinitely gracious,"—and
instead of it, a pension for his family.
prayer was granted, the effusions of gra-
r these unbounded effects of beneficence
which the most benign of sovereigns has
ed to bestow," are still more extrava-
"he dares to hope that the same royal
e which showers on the unmeritorious
ited benefits may deign to accept the
ibute of the truly feeling heart with
escension and goodness." It is painful
t truth extorts, that this is really not the
and the language with which a patriot
sovereign's councils upon a broad differ-
nest opinion, and after being personally
that monarch's favourites; but the tone
and even the style of diction, in which a
felon, having sued for mercy, returns
n his life has been spared. The pain of

defacing any portion of so noble a portrait as
Chatham's must not prevent us from markin
traits of a somewhat vulgar, if not a sordid,
which are to be found on a closer inspection
original.

Such was the man whom George III.
feared, most hated, and most exerted his king
to disarm; and such, unhappily, was his mome
success in this long-headed enterprise agains
liberties of his people and their champions
Lord Chatham's popularity, struck down b
pension, was afterwards annihilated by his pe

LORD NORTH.

The minister whom George III. most loved was, as has been already l, Lord North, and this extraordinary favour l until the period of the Coalition. It is no doubt a commonly-received opinion, and was at one time an article of belief among the popular party, that Lord Bute continued his secret adviser after the termination of his short administration; but this is wholly without foundation. The King never had any kind of communication with him, directly or indirectly; nor did he ever see him but once, and the history of that occurrence suddenly puts the greater part of the stories to flight which are current upon this subject. His aunt, the Princess Amelia, had some plan of again bringing the two parties together, and on a day when George III. was to pay her a visit at her villa of Gunnersbury, near Brentford, she invited Lord Bute, whom she probably had never informed of her foolish intentions. He was walking in the garden when she took her nephew down stairs to view it, saying there was no one there but an old friend of his, whom he had

not seen for some years. He had not time
who it might be, when, on entering the gard
saw his former minister walking up an alley.
King instantly turned back to avoid him, rep
the silly old woman sharply, and declared t
ever she repeated such experiments, she had
him for the last time in her house. The as
that the common reports are utterly void
foundation, and that no communication wh
of any kind or upon any matter, public or p
ever took place between the parties, we mak
the most positive information, proceeding di
both from George III. and from Lord Bute.
we go further: the story is contrary to all
bability; for that Prince, as well as others
family, more than suspected the intimacy be
his old governor and his royal mother, an
cording to the nature of princes of either
he never forgave it. The likelihood is, th
came to his knowledge after the period of h
illness, and the Regency Bill which he, in
sequence of that circumstance, proposed t
liament; for it is well known that he then h
much regard for the Dowager Princess as t
out George Grenville because he passed h
as Regent. Consequently, the discovery wh
are supposing him to have made must hav
some time after Lord Bute's ministry
Certain it is that the feeling towards him h

' some reason or other, not neutral, nega-
passive; but such as rules men, and still
ces, when favour is succeeded by dislike;
ay then say what was so wittily observed
g Louis XV. on a very different occasion
'y a rien de petit chez les grands." His
idence with his other ministers, to which
had access, speaks the same language;
marked prejudice is constantly betrayed
cotchmen and Scotch politics.

igin of Lord North's extraordinary favour
at once consenting to take the office of
inister when the Duke of Grafton, in a
of considerable public difficulty and em-
ent, of what, in those easy days of fair
was called danger, suddenly threw up the
l retired to his diversions and his mistress
arket. Lord North was then Chancellor
Exchequer, and leader of the House of
s. He had thus already the most arduous
the government duties cast upon him;
ubmitting to bear also the nominal func-
real patronage and power of the First
the Treasury seemed but a slender effort
ge or self-devotion. As such, however,
considered it; nor during the disastrous
y difficult times which his own obstinate
nd strong tyrannical propensities brought
country, did he ever cease to feel and to

fy the lively sense he always felt of the obli-
tion under which Lord North had laid him per-
ally, by coming to his assistance upon that
nergency. In fact, responsibility, which, to
most all official personages, proves the greatest
rial, is the most heavily felt, and the most
willingly shunned, presses with peculiar weight
upon the great public functionary who by law
wholly exempt from it, and in practice never c
know it, unless during the interval between o
ministry and another. The less he is in gene
accustomed to this burthen, the more hard does
find it to bear when he has no minister to ca
upon. Accordingly kings are peculiarly help
extremely anxious, and not a little alarmed,
any event has, as they term it, "left them wi
a government" The relief is proportio
great which they experience when any one
such an interregnum in times of difficulty, "
(as they also term it) to their assistance
"consents to stand by them." This Lord
did for George III. in 1772; and his
never was forgotten by that Prince. Ind
gratitude and personal affection is very re
which he showed ever after; at least till
Coalition on which so many political r
were shipwrecked, and so total a loss w
both court and popular favour; and it
of the not very numerous amiable traits

striking instance has already been given
of this monarch.

ie acknowledged that he was singularly
ı the minister whom he thus obtained,
in the change which he made. The
Grafton, though a man endowed with
ıble qualities for his high station, re-
ır a liberality on ecclesiastical matters
rank, and any one thing rather than
er painted by the persevering malice
us calumnies of Junius, who made him
uke of Bedford, together with Lord
he choice objects of his unsparing and
abuse, was nevertheless of no great
ebate, and of habits which the aristo-
ı those days had little fitted to meet the
laims of official duty upon a statesman's
tention. The industry of professional
:oo, being counteracted by no brilliant
hievements, had concurred with the
prevailing at home, and dissensions yet
lably showing themselves in the colo-
er his reputation in the country, and
task of government such as he plainly

., thus abandoned, fell into the hands of
, then in the vigour of his faculties, in
ıisadvantageously known to the country,
ıubted favourite with the House, which

for some time he had led. His success then
very considerable. Few men in any station
indeed, left behind them a higher reputation
debater, and above all, as the representative o
government. We now speak of his fame afte
accession to the chief command in the p
councils, as well as the warfare of parliament
consolidated his authority, exhibited his deb
powers, and multiplied his victories. It wa
lot to maintain the conflict in times of unp
dented difficulty, and against antagonists su
no minister ever had to meet, if we except
Addington, who was speedily overthrown b
rencounter. The resistance of our whole Ame
empire had ended in a general rebellion, an
the military prowess failed to quell it, as al
political measures of the government had fail
prevent it, or rather had ripened discontent
revolt. A series of political disappointments
and then of military disasters, had made our A
rican affairs hopeless, when the war extended
to Europe, and our hitherto invincible navy c
not prevent the English coasts and even harb
from being insulted, while our West India is
were ravaged, and our trade in those seas
swept away by the enemy's marine. Nor la
nation the accustomed consolation, and govern
the usual topic of defence, that our disasters
us through the proverbially fickle fortune of

be chanc_ _ t_ elements. Every one
could be traced to the perverse course of
icy and injustice combined, in which the
al revolt took its rise. The Americans, un-
red for resistance, and unwilling to risk it,
een driven on by the tyrannical bigotry which
ed over our councils, and for which the King
eally answerable, although by the fictions of
nstitution his servants only could be blamed.
to this, that the opposition was led first by
Burke, and afterwards by Mr. Fox, both in
rime of their extraordinary faculties, ranking
g their zealous adherents such men as Barrè,
ing, Lee, supported by the whole phalanx of
Whig aristocracy, and backed always by the
gious weight of Lord Chatham's authority;
onally by the exertions of his splendid elo-
e, burning brighter than ever as it approached
iour of its extinction. The voice of the
e, at first raised against the colonies, soon
ne loud against the government; and each
er and each disaster made the storm of public
nation rage more and more violently. Even
int of numbers the parliamentary forces were
unequally matched as we have seen them
g subsequent seasons of warlike discomfiture;
hile Mr. Pitt has had majorities of three or
o one in his support, under all the failures of
ntinental projects, Lord North was frequently

reduced to fight with majorities so scanty as ra
resembled the more recent balance of pa
mentary power, than the ordinary workings of
constitution.

Such was the strife, and in such untoward
cumstances, which Lord North had to maint
with the help only of his attorney and solic
generals, Thurlow and Wedderburn, to whom
afterwards added Dundas. But a weight far m
than sufficient to counterbalance this accession
about the same time flung into the opposite s
and rendered its preponderance still more deci
Mr. Pitt signalized his entrance into Parlia
by the most extraordinary eloquence, at
matured and nearly perfect in its kind, and
lending all its aid and all its ornament to the
position. Nothing daunted, the veteran min
persevered in maintaining the conflict, and
only driven from the helm after he had fo
triumphantly for six years against the greater
of the Whig chiefs, and desperately for two
against the whole of the body thus power
reinforced.

All contemporary reports agree in represen
his talents as having shone with a great a
steady lustre during this singularly trying pe
Without any pretensions to fill the higher rank
eloquence, with no accomplishments of lear
beyond the scholarship which a well-educ

man gai_ at Oxford, with political in-
m such as the historical reading of well-
d men could give, he displayed so thorough
aintance with official and Parliamentary
as easily supplied all defects in those days
y political acquirer , while his clear ex-
sense, which never fai him and constantly
m the victory over of more brilliant
his natural tact, s ll further improved by
and deep knowled of his ready
his cool determin a —would alto-
have made him a mo d debater,
dependent of thos pe ities in
e, and indeed all his ily, ex ed most
nen—qualities of si virtue in any
of either house of Parliament, but in him
lds the first place, of most sovereign efficacy
ning and rallying his followers, and in con-
the audience at large—a wit that never
im, and a suavity of temper that could
e ruffled. Combating his powerful adver-
t such a disadvantage as he, for the most
as compelled to work up against, from the
unbroken series of failures which he was
to defend or extenuate, his tactics were
admired as well as his gallantry. Nothing
in this way ever showed both skill and
s more than his unexpectedly granting a
for inquiring into the State of the Nation,

supposed in parliamentary procedure to be a
of distrust in the Ministry; for when, to a
and powerful speech introducing that propo
he contented himself with making an able and
plete reply, and then suddenly professed hi
readiness to meet the question in detail, by
at once into the committee, the enemy were
altogether unprepared, and the whole affair e
rated in smoke.

To give examples of his unbroken good-hu
as enviable as it was amiable, and perhaps
more useful than either, would be to rein
history of almost each night's debate durin
American war. The rage of party never
carried to greater excess, nor ever more degene
into mere personal violence. Constant thre
impeachment, fierce attacks upon himself a
his connexions, mingled execration of his me
and scorn of his capacity, bitter hatred o
person—the elaborate, and dazzling, and l
fancy of Burke, the unbridled licence of inve
in which the young blood of Fox nightly
over, the epigrams of Barrè, the close rea
and legal subtlety of Dunning, the broad h
and argumentative sarcasm of Lee—were, wi
intermission, exhausted upon the minister,
seemed to have no effect upon his habitually
deportment, nor to consume his endless pat
while they wearied out his implacable antag

lain homely answer he could blunt the edge
fiercest declamation or most refined sarcasm;
is pleasantry, never far-fetched, nor ever
me, or misplaced, or forced, he could turn
rath and refresh the jaded listeners, while,
undisturbed temper, he made them believe
the advantage, and could turn into a laugh,
ssailant's expense, the invective which had
estined to crush himself. On one or two
ns, not many, the correspondence of con-
ary writers makes mention of his serenity
been ruffled, as a proof to what excesses of
e the opposition had been carried, but also
ecurrence almost out of the ordinary course
ure. And, truly, of those excesses there
o other instance be cited than Mr. Fox de-
, with much emphasis, his opinion of the
r to be such that he should deem it unsafe
lone with him in a room.

if it would be endless to recount the
hs of his temper, it would be equally so and
re difficult to record those of his wit. It
s to have been of a kind peculiarly charac-
and eminently natural; playing easily and
t the least effort; perfectly suited to his
nature, by being what Clarendon says of
s II., "a pleasant, affable, recommending
wit;" wholly unpretending; so exquisitely
to the occasion that it never failed of effect,

yet so readily produced and so entirely unambit
that although it had occurred to nobody be
every one wondered it had not suggested its
all. A few only of his sayings have reache
and these, as might be expected, are rather t
which he had chanced to coat over with
sarcasm or epigram that tended to preserve t
they consequently are far from giving an id
his habitual pleasantry and the gaiety of the
which generally pervaded his speeches. T
when a vehement declaimer, calling aloud fo
head, turned round and perceived his victim
consciously indulging in a soft slumber, and
coming still more exasperated, denounced
Minister as capable of sleeping while he r
his country—the latter only complained how
it was to be denied a solace which other crim
so often enjoyed, that of having a night's
before their fate. When surprised in a lik
dulgence during the performance of a very im
artist, who, however, showed equal indignati
so ill-timed a recreation, he contented himself
observing how hard it was that he shoul
grudged so very natural a release from conside
suffering; but, as if recollecting himself, a
that it was somewhat unjust in the gentlem
complain of him for taking the remedy whic
had himself been considerate enough to admi
The same good-humour and drollery quitted

m in op[illegible]ion. [illegible] heard of
ech which, if it had [illegible]d to injure the
of its attack, was v[illegible] in affixing
upon its honest and h[illegible]l author.
. Martin's proposal to [illegible]e a li[illegible]ed
e chair and taught to [illegible] cry of
ous coalition!" Lord North coolly sug-
that, as long as the worthy member was
ed to them, it would be a needless waste of
lic money, since the starling might well
his office by deputy. That in society
nan must have been the most delightful of
ions may well be supposed. In his family,
ll his private intercourse as in his personal
er, he was known to be in every respect
; of scrupulous integrity and unsullied

statesman, his merits are confessedly far
to those which clothed him as a debater and
n. The American war is the great blot
s fame; for his share in the Coalition was
ceptionable on account of the bitterness with
his adversaries had so long pursued him;
hey could submit to the fellowship of one
hom they had heaped such unmeasured
hey seemed to recant, or even to confess that
nions which they had previously professed
they had not really entertained. That ill-
easure of the Whigs seemed to be rather a

tribute of tardy justice to their great advers
it was not for him either to reject it or t
nize the motives from which it was paid.
policy towards our colonies, of which he h
the leading advocate in Parliament, and f
he was primarily responsible as minister, c
of no defence; nor in his position, and
momentous a question, is it possible to ur
in extenuation of his offending, that he
along aware of the King's egregious folly,
obstinately persisted in a hopeless and
struggle against the liberties of his people
this, however, was the fact, there exists no
doubt; he was long resolved to quit the h
cause George III. insisted on a wrong cou
steered—that helm which he ought to have
as soon as his mind was made up to differ
owner of the vessel, unless he were perm
follow his own course; and he was only ke
post by constant entreaties, by monthly ex
tions, by the most vehement protestation
misguided Prince against a proceeding wh
leave him helpless in the hands of his m
enemies, and even by promises always re
let him go would he but remain for a fe
until some other arrangement could be m
is fit that this certain and important fact s
stated; and we have before us the proofs of
the hand of the Royal Suitor to his reluc

and favour, whose apparently fixed
retirement he uses all these expedients
at least to obstruct and retard, if he
ate. This importunity working upon
of a well-natured person like Lord
it easily be expected to produce its
ct; and the unavoidable difficulty of
m a post which, while he held it, had
of peril as well as embarrassment,
reased the difficulty of abandoning it
nger lasted.

gh we may thus explain, we are not
abled to excuse the minister's conduct.
und that he could no longer approve
hich he was required to pursue, and of
end, he was bound to quit the councils
ate and unreasonable Sovereign. Nor
a worse service, either to the Prince
, than enabling a Monarch to rule in
on, dictating the commands of his own
caprice, through servants who dis-
is measures, and yet suffer themselves
nstruments for carrying them into exe-
ad King can desire nothing more than
by such persons, whose opinions he
disregard as their inclinations, but
ill always find his tools in doing the
hief, because they become the more at
h's mercy in proportion as they have

surrendered their principles and their will
Far, then, very far from vindicating the
of Lord North in this essential point, we
not to affirm that the discrepancy between
timents and his measures is not even any
tion of the disastrous policy which gave us,
fruits of a long and disastrous war, the dism
ment of the empire. In truth, what oth
might have been regarded as an error of jud
became an offence, only palliated by cons
those kindly feelings of a personal kind wh
verned him, but which every statesman,
every one who acts in any capacity as trus
others, is imperatively called upon to disreg

While, however, truth requires this stat
justice equally demands that, in thus denounc
offence, we should mark how very far it
being a solitary case of political misconduct.
how many other great occasions have other
ters sacrificed their principles, not to the
natured wish that the King might not be dis
but to the more sordid apprehension that the
government might be broken up, and their
saries displace them, if they manfully acted
their well known and oftentimes recorded opi
How many of those who, but for this unw
retrospect into their own lives, which are
forcing upon them, would be the very first
nounce a pharisaical condemnation on Lord

opted the views of their opponents, rather
eld them up their places by courageously
nestly pursuing the course prescribed by
vn? Let us be just to both parties: but
the conductor of the American war, by
to mind the similar delinquency of some
ve succeeded to his power, with capacity of
r order than his, and of some who resembled
ly in their elevation to high office, without
nts to sustain it or to adorn. The subject,
s a deeper and more general interest than
that of dispensing justice among individuals;
erns the very worst offence of which a mi-
ism be guilty—the abandonment of his own
les for place, and counselling his Sovereign
country, not according to his conscience,
cording to what, being most palatable to
s most beneficial to the man himself.

Pitt joining the war party in 1793, the most
and the most fatal instance of this offence,
one which at once presents itself; because
ord North's adversaries there was none who
l him with such unrelenting rancour, to the
f peremptorily refusing all negociations with
x party, unless their new ally should be ex-
when he, with a magnanimity rare indeed
statesmen, instantly removed the obstacle
bitter adversary's elevation, by withdrawing
ns to a share of power. No one more clearly

than Mr. Pitt saw the ruinous consequences o
contest into which his new associates, the dese
from the Whig standard, were drawing or
driving him; none so clearly perceived or so hi
valued the blessings of peace, as the finance
nister, who had but the year before accomp
his reduction of the whole national establish
with a picture of our future prosperity almos
glowing even for his great eloquence to att
Accordingly it is well known, nor is it ever
tradicted by his few surviving friends, tha
thoughts were all turned to peace. But the
of the court was for war; the aristocracy wa
war; the country was not disinclined towards
being just in that state of excitable (though n
not excited) feeling which it depended upon
government, that is, upon Mr. Pitt, either to
down into a sufferance of peace, or rouse i
vehement desire of hostilities. In these cir
stances, the able tactician, whose genius was
fined to parliamentary operations, at once perc
that a war must place him at the head of all
power in the state, and, by uniting with him
more aristocratic portion of the Whigs, cripp
adversaries irreparably; and he preferred flin
his country into a contest which he and his
antagonist by uniting their forces must have
vented; but then he must also have shared
Mr. Fox the power which he was determin

[illegible] alone. This was a far worse [illegible] than Lord No[illegible]; although the country, [illegible] at least the patri[illegible]y, shared with the [illegible] the prejudices t[illegible]. Pitt surrendered [illegible] own judgment, a[illegible] power to reward his [illegible] conversion. T[illegible] man living [illegible] not survive the [illegible] of this flagrant [illegible] crime.

[illegible] abandonment [illegible] the Catholic question by [illegible] same minister wh[illegible] he returned to power in [illegible], and the simila[illegible] which the Whigs [illegible] at his death to the [illegible]try of George III., [illegible] cited as exa[illegible]e delinquency. [illegible] neither the one n[illegible] of these passages [illegible]ents anything like the [illegible] aspect with the [illegible]ker scene of place-loving prop[illegible]ies which we [illegible] just been surveying. The marked difference [illegible] the state of the war; the great desire which the [illegible]t party had of conducting hostilities with vigour, [illegible] which the Fox party had of bringing them to [illegible]lose. The more recent history, however, of the [illegible] question afford[illegible] instances more parallel to [illegible] of the American and the French wars. When [illegible] was restored, and when even the obstacle to [illegible] emancipation presented by George III.'s ob[illegible]ate bigotry was removed, they who had so long [illegible]ed the uncouth language, so strange to the [illegible]stitution of a free country, of yielding to "un[illegible]y prejudices in a high quarter, impossible to

be removed," had now no longer any pref
uttering such sounds as those. The Regent,
wards the King, had no prejudices which any
be his nature ever so sensitive, was called
respect; for he had, up to the illness of his
been a warm friend of the Catholics. Y
sooner did he declare against his former pri
than Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning a
clared that his conscience (the scrupulous con
of George IV.!) must not be forced, and o
ministration was formed after another up
principle of abandoning all principle in or
follow the interests of the parties, and of
the domestic peace of the country by commo
sent out of view. The present state of I
and indeed to a certain degree the unworthy
pursued by their successors on Irish affairs,
fruit, and the natural fruit, of this wholly
cipled system.

The subject of Parliamentary Reform
other illustrations of a like kind. To alt
constitution of parliament as one party ter
to restore it as another said, but to cha
actual structure as all admitted, might be r
it might be wrong; might be necessary
peace of the country, or might be the begin
inextricable confusion; but at any rate sta
were called upon to decide so grave a q
upon its own merits—a question by far the m

[illegible] were in this world [illegible] summoned to d[illegible] the peaceful deli[illegible]tions of council, [illegible]o decide by the [illegible] of argument alone—a q[illegible]stion which, in [illegible] other age, perhaps [illegible] any otl[illegible] country, must [illegible] been determined, [illegible]t by [illegible]tions of poli[illegible] or arguments of orators, but by the swords [illegible] the spears of an[illegible] combatants. Yet this [illegible]tion has more th[illegible]e, and by more than [illegible] party, been made the [illegible]ect of compromise, [illegible] time taken up, at ano[illegible]l down, as [illegible]ted the convenience [illegible] the duty of [illegible]tesmen. Of a cer[illegible]ty, those men have no [illegible]t to blame Lord North for remaining in office, [illegible]ough disapproving the American war, rather [illegible]an break up the government and open the doors [illegible] Downing-street to the Opposition. In one re[illegible]pect, indeed, Lord North has been by far outdone by them. No exigency of party affairs ever drove [illegible]im back to the side of the American controversy [illegible]hich he had escaped. But the "Reformers of [illegible]he Eleventh Hour," having made all the use of [illegible]heir new creed which they well could, took the [illegible]pportunity of the new reign to cast it off, and, [illegible]acying they could now do without it, returned [illegible]to the bosom of their own church, becoming once [illegible]ore faithful supporters of things as they are, and [illegible]worn enemies of reform.

A new and perhaps unexpected vindication

Lord North has been recently presented by
Canadian policy of liberal governments, as fa
mistakes by inferior artists can extenuate the
ings of their more eminent predecessors. W
the senseless folly was stated of clinging by o
nies wholly useless and merely expensive, w
all admit must sooner or later assert their i
pendence and be severed from the mother-coun
none of all this was denied, nor indeed could
but the answer was, that no government whate
could give up any part of its dominions with
being compelled by force, and that history
forded no example of such a surrender withou
obstinate struggle. What more did Lord No
and the other authors of the disgraceful co
with America, than act upon this bad principle

But a general disposition exists in the pre
day to adopt a similar course to the one which
have been reprobating in him, and that upon q
tions of the highest importance. It seems t
demanded by one part of the community, and
most conceded by some portion of our rulers in
days, that it is the duty of statesmen when in o
to abdicate the functions of Government.
allude to the unworthy, the preposterous,
shameful, the utterly disgraceful doctrine of w
are called "*open questions.*" Its infamy and
audacity has surely no parallel. Enough wa
that the Catholic Emancipation should have b

n this fashion, from a supposed necessity
the pressure of fancied, nay fictitious
. No one till now ever had the assur-
t forward, as a general principle, so pro-
ule of conduct; amounting indeed to
when any set of politicians find their
l recorded opinions inconsistent with the
office, they may lay them aside, and
e duty of Government while they retain
ents and its powers. Mark well, too,
s not done upon some trivial question,
nen who would act together in one body
inment of great and useful objects may
mes must waive, or settle by mutual con-
nothing of the kind; it is upon the greatest
seful of all objects that the abdication is
and is supposed to be made. Whether
all be final or progressive—whether the
franchise shall be extended or not—
ting shall be by Ballot or open—whether
Laws shall be repealed or not—such are
upon which the ministers of the Crown
d to have exactly no opinion; alone of
community to stand mute and inactive,
nking, neither stirring—and to do just
either more nor less than—nothing. It
necessary to say more. "*The word ab-*
which men debated so long one hun-
ifty years ago, is the only word in the

dictionary which can suit the case. Can any thing be more clear than this, that there are q tions upon which it is wholly impossible th Government should not have some opinion, equally necessary that, in order to deserve the n of a Government, its members should agree? W are one set of men in office rather than anot but because they agree among themselves, differ with their adversaries upon such great q tions as these? The code of political mora recognises the *idem sentire de republica* as a le mate bond of virtuous union among honest m the *idem velle atque idem nolle* is also a well-kn principle of action; but among the associate Catiline, and by the confession of their profli leader. Can it be doubted for a moment of t that when a government has said "We ca agree on these the only important points of p tical policy," the time is come for so reconstr ing and changing it, as that an agreement imp ously demanded by the best interests of the may be secured? They are questions upon wh an opinion must be formed by every man, be statesman or individual, ruler or subject. Eac the great measures in question is either expedi or it is hurtful. The people have an indisput right to the help of the Government in further it if beneficial, in resisting it if pernicious; an proclaim that, on these subjects, the governm

country al[illegible] e the
[illegible] to their fate, is [illegible] ly to [illegible] t [illegible] when-
[illegible] it is most necessa[illegible] to l[illegible] a Go[illegible]nment,
[illegible] no Government at all.[illegible] y? Be-
[illegible] they in whose hands the a[illegible] tration of
[illegible] is vested are rec[illegible]ved ra[illegible] to [illegible] their
[illegible] than to do their duty.

similar view is somet[illegible]ut forward and even
[illegible] upon, but of so vul[illegible]r, so incomparably base
[illegible]d, that we hardly know if we should deign to
[illegible]ion it. The partisans of a ministry are wont
[illegible]y for their patrons, that, unless the country
[illegible]or certain measures, it shall not have them.
[illegible]t! Is this the duty of rulers? Are men in
stations to give all that may be asked, and
to give because of the asking, without re-
ing whether it be a boon or a bane? Is the
o of them that hold the citadel to be "Knock,
t shall be opened unto you?"—Assuredly such
as these do not rise even to the mean rank of
disgraced spirits elsewhere, who while in life

—— visser senza infamia e senza lodo;

f them we may at least say as of these,

Non ragionam di lor ma guarda e passa.*

---

hile Lord North led the House of Commons,
d extremely little help from any merely poli-
men of his party. No ministers joined him in

* DANTE, Inf.

defending the measures of his Government. reliance was upon professional supporters; Gibbon has described him as slumbering bet the great legal Pillars of his administration, Attorney and Solicitor General, who indeed posed his whole strength, until Mr. Dundas, a professional supporter, being Lord Advocat Scotland, became a new and very valuable sion to his forces.

LORD LOUGHBOROUGH.

WEDDERBURN, afterwards Lord Loughborough Earl of Rosslyn, was one of the few eminent ers who have shone at the least as much in cal affairs as in Westminster Hall. Of those ish barristers to whom this remark is appli- Mr. Perceval was perhaps the most consi- ble; of men bred at the Scotch bar, and who promoted in England, Lord Melville: Mr. derburn, in some sort, partook of both kinds, g been originally an advocate in Edinburgh, e he distinguished himself by his eloquence and e fierceness of his invective, which, being di- d against a leading member of the bar, ended quarrel with the court, led to his removing the provincial theatre, and ultimately raised to the English bench. He was a person of powers, cultivated with much care, and chiefly ted towards public speaking. Far from being found lawyer, he was versed in as much pro- nal learning on ordinary subjects as sufficed he common occasions of *Nisi Prius*. On ge law, he is believed to have had more know-

ledge, and the whole subject lies within a
narrow compass. He affected great acquain
with constitutional learning; but on this d
were entertained, augmented, certainly, by th
scrupulous manner in which his opinions w
the service of the political parties he succes
belonged to. But his strength lay in dealing
facts; and here all his contemporaries represe
powers to have been unrivalled. It was pro
this genius for narrative, for arguing upon p
bilities, for marshalling and for sifting evi
that shone so brilliantly in his great speech
bar of the House of Lords upon the celeb
Douglas cause, and which no less a judge
Mr. Fox pronounced to be the very finest he
heard on any subject. It must, however, b
marked, in abatement of this high panegyric
the faculty of statement and of reasoning w
the excitement of a contentious debate, being
little possessed by that great man himself, a
display of it, not so unusual in professional
might produce a greater impression upon him
was proportioned to its true value and real w
That it was a prodigious exhibition may neve
less be admitted to the united testimony of a
recollect it, and who have lived in our own
That Lord Loughborough never forgot the Do
cause itself, as he was said to have forgott
many merely legal arguments in which he,

time to th[illegible] appears from one of his judgments in [illegible]ery, w[illegible]e he imported into a case before him [illegible]t longing to it, but recollected by him as [illegible] proved in the case of Douglas.

His manner in earl[illegible] life was remarked as excellent; and though it pro[illegible]ly partook even then of that over-precision wl[illegible] in his later years, sometimes bordered upon t[illegible]ous, it must certainly have been above the c[illegible]mon order of forensic delivery to earn the reputation which has remained of it. That he made it an object of his especial care is certain. He is supposed to have studied under a player; and he certainly spared no pains to eradicate his northern accent, beside being exceedingly careful to avoid provincial solecisms. His efforts were eminently successful in both these particulars; but the force of second nature, habit, will yield to that of Nature herself, who is apt to overcome in the end all violence that cultivation may do her. His Scotticisms and his vernacular tones returned as his vigour was impaired in the decline of life; showing that it was all the while an effort which could not continue when the attention was relaxed and its powers enfeebled.

Upon the removal of Sir Fletcher Norton he joined the Northern Circuit, having then the rank of King's Counsel. As this was contrary to all the rules of the profession, and was, indeed, deemed

to be a discreditable proceeding as well as a
of discipline, even independent of other peculi
attending the operation,* an immediate reso
was adopted by the Bar to refuse holding
with the new-comer; a resolution quite fa
him, had not Mr. Wallace, a man of unde
learning and ability, been tempted to break it,
thereby at once to benefit himself and nearly d
the combination. He thus secured, beside t
mediate advantage of professional advancemen
patronage of his leader, who in a few years b
Solicitor-General, and afterwards Attorney,
Lord North's administration, drawing Mr. W
upwards in his train. He practised in the Co
Chancery; but in those days the line had not
drawn which now, so hurtfully for the Equity
titioner, separates the two sides of Westm
Hall; and Chancery leaders frequented the di
circuits almost equally with practitioners
courts of Common Law.

When he entered the House of Comm
became, in a very short time, one of the two
supports of its ministerial leader; the othe
Lord Thurlow: and while they remained th
defend him Lord North might well, as Gibb
described the "Palinurus of the state," inde
slumbers, with his Attorney and Solicitor G

* He came there with the same clerk whom Sir P.
had before in his service.

[illegible] p[illegible] to watch [illegible] the long debate. [illegible] e or since [illegible] time of Mr. Addin[illegible] 1 e[illegible] ed so much [illegible] the services of pro[illegible] rters. [illegible], they and Mr. [illegible] ear to [illegible] shared with him [illegible] le weight of an [illegible] conducted by t[illegible] pow[illegible] of an opposition [illegible] Burke and Fox [illegible] ravated by the [illegible] uninterrupted series of [illegible] which, during the [illegible] American cont[illegible] at [illegible] councils of [illegible] King and his serva[illegible]

[illegible] of the debates in th[illegible] se[illegible] h scanty remains [illegible] preserved, that no one [illegible] cover from them [illegible] qualities, or even the [illegible] of the orators who [illegible] a part in them. The critic cannot from such [illegible] gments divine the species and supply the lost [illegible] rts, as the comparative anatomist can by the [illegible] pection of a few bones in the fossil strata of the [illegible] lobe. Until, therefore, Lord Loughborough came [illegible] the House of Lords, indeed until the Regency [illegible] estion occupied that assembly in 1788 and 1789, [illegible] were left without the means of assigning his [illegible] ce as a debater. Of his forensic powers we [illegible] ve better opportunities to judge. Several of [illegible] arguments are preserved, particularly in the [illegible] chess of Kingston's case and in one or two [illegible] ses of celebrity heard before him in the Com[illegible] Pleas, from which we can form an idea, and [illegible] is a very exalted one, of his clearness and neat-

ness of statement, the point and precisi
language, and the force and even fire wi
he pressed his argument, or bore down
adverse combatant. The effect of his el
upon a very favourable audience certainly,
a season of great public violence and del
it was against the Americans, and before t
Council at the commencement of the
well known. Mr. Fox alluded to it in
the Commons against being led away
eloquence as Mr. Pitt had just astonished th
at the renewal of the war in 1803; remind
how all men "tossed up their hats and clap
hands in boundless delight" at Mr. Wed
Privy-Council speech, without reckoning
it was to entail upon them. Of this famou
nothing remains but a small portion of his
against Franklin, which, being couched in
and conveyed by classical allusion, has b
served, as almost always happens to wh
thus sheathed. It refers to some letters
nial governor, which, it was alleged, h
unfairly into Franklin's hands, and bee
perly used by him; and the Solicitor-
classical wit was displayed in jesting w
illustrious person's literary character, an
him a man of three letters, the old Roman
a thief! Pity that so sorry a sample of
brated an orator should be all that has re

it time to [illegible] acc[illegible] by Mr. Fox
effects which its deli[illegible] duced! We are
reminded of Swift's all[illegible] statue of
of which nothing r[illegible] save [illegible] middle
[illegible]

it the speech and the whole scene was not
nt its effect upon him who was the principal
of attack, appears sufficiently certain; for
h, at the moment, a magnanimous, and, in-
somewhat overdone, expression of contempt
e speaker is reported to have escaped him in
r to one who hoped, rather clumsily, that he
t feel hurt, "I should think myself meaner
I have been described, if anything coming
such a quarter could vex me;" yet it is well
that, when the ambassadors were met to
the peace of Versailles, by which the inde-
nce of America was acknowledged, Franklin
d, in order to change his dress and affix his
to the treaty in those very garments which he
when attending the Privy Council, and which
d kept by him for the purpose during many
a little inconsistently, it must be confessed,
he language of contemptuous indifference used
n at the moment.

hen he was raised to the bench in 1780, and
pecial Commission was issued for trying the
s, he presided, and delivered a charge to the
l Jury, the subject at the time of much ani-

madversion for its matter, and of boundless p
gyric for its execution. It was published
widely circulated under the authority of the lea
Judge himself; and we have thus in the first p
the means of determining how far the contempo
opinions upon that production itself were
founded, and next how far the admiration exc
by the other efforts of the same artist was ju
bestowed. Whoever now reads this celebr
charge will confess that the blame and the pr
allotted to it were alike exaggerated. Far f
laying down bad law and propagating from
Bench dangerous doctrines respecting treason,
whole legal portion of it consists in a quota
from Judge Foster's book, and a statement in wh
every lawyer must concur, that the Riot Act
never intended to prevent the magistrate f
quelling a riot during the hour after proclamat
Then the whole merit of the address in point
execution consists in the luminous, concise,
occasionally impressive sketch of the late no
proceedings which had given rise to the tr
That this narrative, delivered in a clear and m
dious voice, loud without being harsh, rece
after the event, and while men's minds were fl
with the alarm of their late escape, and with
dignation at the cause of their fears, should mak
deep impression, and pass current as a standard
eloquence far above the true one, may well

ned. But [illegible] e reprel [illegible] le
ere lies the true g [illegible] of l [illegible] ne) [illegible]
et of the Judge wh co [illegible] a [illegible]
he pains manifested thro [illegible] tl [illegible]
dite, or rather to [illegible] ave [illegible] glowi
feelings which th due [illegible] of
[illegible] required him rat [illegible] al [illegible] r to allay.
n a short month af the riots themselves
d-forty persons were put upon their trial for
ffence; and nearly the whole of the Chief
e's address consisted of a solemn and stately
upon the enormity of the offence, and a
of whatever could be alleged in extenuation
offenders' conduct. It resembled far more
eech of an advocate for the prosecution than
arge of a Judge to the Grand Jury. Again,
we find a composition which all men had
to praise as a finished specimen of oratory,
to a rather ordinary level, there is some
lty in avoiding the inference that an abate-
should also be made from the great eulogies
red upon its author's other speeches, which
not reached us; and we can hardly be without
ion that much of their success may have been
to the power of a fine delivery, and a clear
in setting off inferior matter; to which may
led the never-failing effect of correct compo-
if employed either at the Bar or in Parlia-
where a more slovenly diction is so much
frequent even with the best speakers.

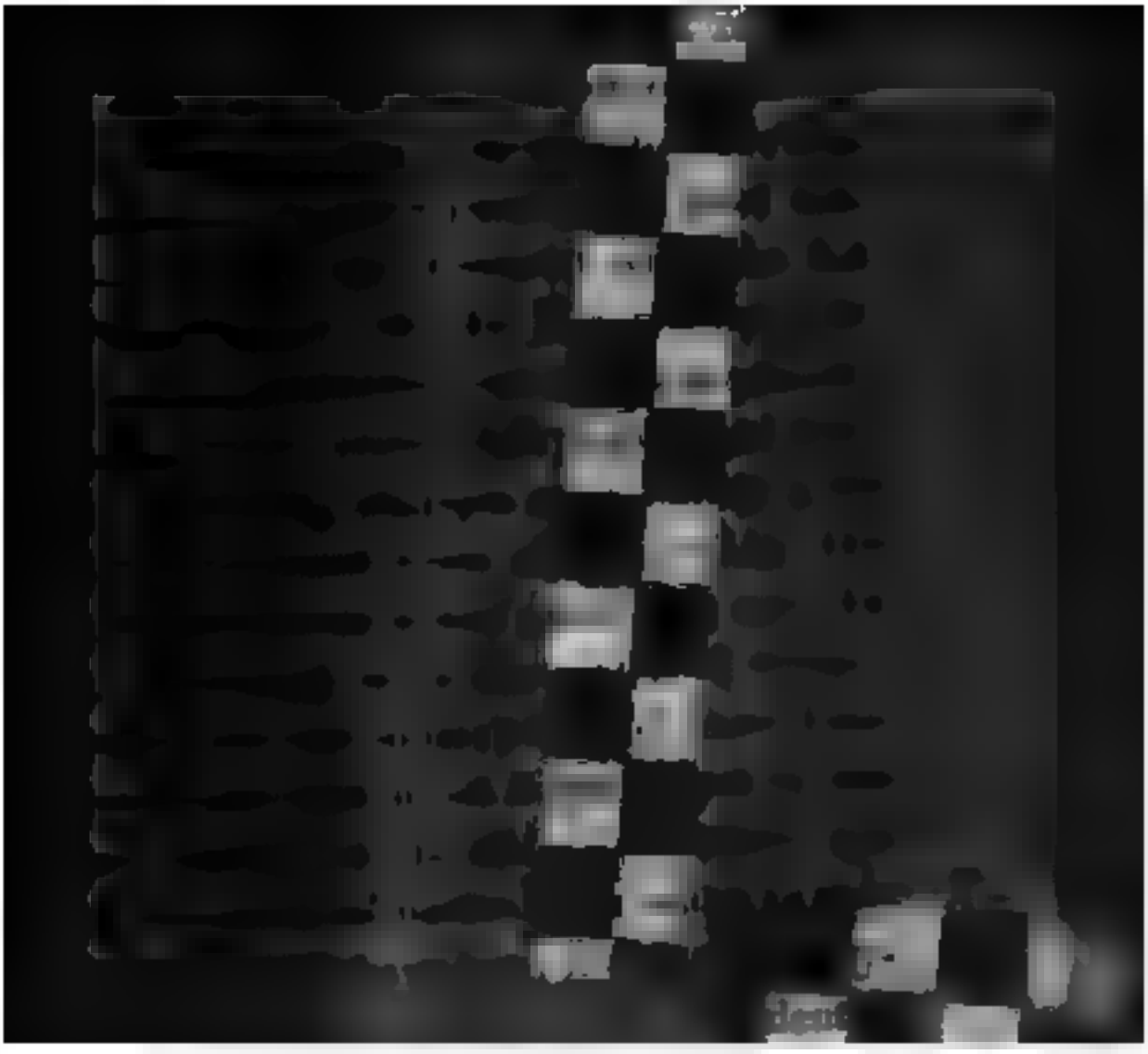
That he was a thoroughly-devoted party-m
his life, can indeed no more be questioned tha
he owed to the manœuvres of faction much
success. He did not cease to feel the force of
attachment when he ascended the Bench; and
can be no doubt that his object at all times,
while he sat in the Common Pleas, was to gain
great prize of the profession which he at l
reduced into possession. We shall in vain l
any steady adherence to one code of politicall
ciples, any consistent pursuit of one undevi
line of conduct, in his brilliant and unif
successful career. He entered parliament i
compromising opposition to Lord North's ca
and for some years distinguished himself a
their most fierce assailants, at a time when no
errors had been committed, or any crimes a
public liberty or the peace of the world co
laid to their charge. On the eve of the Am
war he joined them when their measures we
coming daily more indefensible; and it is k
that, like many others in similar circumstanc
appeared at first to have lost the power of utte
so astonished and overcome was he with the p
which he had made after preferment.* But h
recovered his faculties, and continued in offi

* Alluding to this passage of his life, Junius
XLIVth Letter, says, "We have seen him in the H
Commons overwhelmed with confusion, and almost
of his faculties."

; and unflinching supporter of all the mea-
g, which his former adversaries converted
nt into disaffection, and out of disaffection
p revolt; nor did he quit them when they
ured the empire in twain. Removed from
e of the senate and the forum, on the bench
mued their partisan, when they joined in a
n with their ambitious and unscrupulous
. For many years of Mr. Pitt's adminis-
se was the real if not the avowed leader of
ite opposition in the House of Lords, as
Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in
nster Hall. He had under the Coalition
a foretaste of that great banquet of dignity
onage, emolument and power, on which he
mmoveably fixed his long-sighted and pene-
eye; having been Chief Commissioner of
at Seal during the short life of that justly
ar administration. This scanty repast but
his appetite the more; and among the
old and unhesitating of the Prince's ad-
on the question of the Regency, the Chief
was to be found the boldest and most
ing.

ne can, upon a calm review of that famous
ersy, entertain any doubt that the strict
f the constitution prescribed one course,
he manifest considerations of expediency
ed another. Nothing can be more contrary

to the whole frame of a monarchy than all
the very fundamental principle, that of here
descent, for which and its benefits so many st
and even pernicious anomalies are overlooked,
constant risks encountered, and such serious
tical inconveniences borne with, to be broke
upon when the sovereign is disabled, wheth
infancy, or by old age, or by disease, and, in
of following the plain course of the successi
call in the elective voice of the country by a
that resolves the government into its first princ
To make this appeal, and not merely to el
regent, but to limit his powers, is in other
to frame a new constitution for the state w
shall last during the monarch's incapacity,
which, if it be fit for the purposes of govern
ought assuredly not to be replaced by the old
when he recovers or attains his perfect pow
action. The phantom of a commission issue
an incapable king to confer upon what the
other branches of the legislature had propose
outward semblance of a statute passed by al
three, was an outrage upon all constitutional
ciple, and, indeed, upon the common sense of
kind, yet more extravagant than the elective
of the whole process. Nevertheless, there
reasons of a practical description which ove
these obvious considerations, and reconciled
minds to such an anomalous proceeding. It



bill to which the two remaining branches al
the crippled Parliament had assented, inste
their addressing the Heir-apparent, declarin
temporary vacancy of the throne, and desirin
temporarily to fill it. The sudden recovery o
King prevented the experiment from being
fully tried; but it was repeated after great
sition and much discussion in 1810. The
precedents thus made have now settled the
stitutional law and practice in this importan
ticular.

The Parliament of Ireland, it is to be rem
did not, in the earlier case, pursue the same
with that of Great Britain. Our fellow-cit
although dwelling farther from the rising su
more devotedly given to its worship than our
They could see nothing of expediency or disc
sufficient to restrain their zeal; and they at
addressed the Prince of Wales to take upon
the government without any restriction what
leaving it to His Royal Highness to make
provision he might deem most convenient f
own dethronement and his father's restor
should he recover. It is the same country w
having some thirty years later been ill-used b
same individual, testified their sense of this
ment by overt acts of idolatry, when he
among them at the most justly unpopular p
of his life, and even begun a subscription for

ism a palace, of which, however, not a farthing ever paid.*

the consultations, and in the intrigues, to h this crisis gave rise, Lord Loughborough a forward part. That he should have agreed the rest of the party in the constitutional view h they took of the question, could excite no rise, nor give rise to any comment. But it is known that his views were of a more practical re than any which appeared in the debate. l, determined, unscrupulous, he recommended ncil a course which nothing but the courage ed from desperation could have made any Statesmen in the eighteenth century take their serious consideration, and which, if it had pursued, would have left the odium attached

General censures of a whole nation are generally h, and really of no avail. But, if the Irish people l avoid the ill opinion under which they labour among n of reflection, and raise themselves to the rank of a fit for self-government, they must begin to show that can think for themselves, and not follow blindfolded delusion, or suffer to be practised upon them every and shameless fraud, and give the countenance of their escence to every avowal of profligate principles which e made before them. At present, they are only known rest of their fellow-citizens for a mass of people never lted, though absolutely ruled, by the priests and the s, who use them as blind, unreflecting tools. Yet the s and the worth of the nation are denied by none. they soon be really emancipated, and learn to think and k themselves!

to the Coalition in the shade, and made th
of this country repent them of not having
the parties to it yet more bitterly and
versally. It was the opinion of the L
Justice, that the Prince of Wales should
waited for even an address of the two hou
considering them as nonentities while th
was empty, should at once have proceeded t
as it was delicately and daintily termed, th
tive branch of the constitution; in othe
proclaim himself regent, and issue his ord
troops and the magistrates, as if his fat
naturally dead, and he had succeeded, in t
of nature, to the vacant crown. There is
to believe that this scheme of Lord Lough
was adopted by the chiefs of the party, no
is there any evidence that it was commun
them. That it was an advice hinted to t
apparent, or at least a subject discussed
and of which memoranda remain in the O
tice's hand-writing, is very confidently
from ocular inspection. Whether or no
popular prince might with safety have
upon such an experiment, is a question
the actual case, that no time needs be wa
its solution. That the individual to w
perilous advice was tendered could not
so without a civil war, appears sufficiently
Indeed, the marriage *de facto*, legal o

h he had contracted with a Catholic lady, and hich the circumstances were generally known, d alone have furnished Mr. Pitt with a suffi- objection to his title; and the country would owed to one of her reverend judges the bless- of a disputed succession and intestine tumults, as she had not experienced since the days of Two Roses. There can be little doubt, whether sider the character of the man, or his subse- t conduct towards George III. on the Catholic tion, and his advice respecting the Coronation, that part of Lord Loughborough's design was tain an undivided control over the Prince, should then have flung himself into his hands lopting his extreme opinions, and acting upon hazardous counsels.

e discomfiture of the opposition party by the 's recovery, and by the great accession to his nal popularity which his illness had occasioned, Lord Loughborough no prospect of power for years. The French Revolution was then ap- hing, and the Whigs suffered the almost irre- le blow of the Portland party separating selves upon the great questions connected with event. He was one of the seceders; nor in g this step did he quit his allies of the North d. The Great Seal, now within his reach by Thurlow's quarrel with Mr. Pitt, may have ted as an additional temptation to close his

ears against the evils of the war into which t junction plunged the country; but one, who b defended the government steadily through all t calamities of the American contest, had not mu to learn of fortitude in seasons of difficulty, or patience under public misfortune. He held t Great Seal for seven or eight years, and was at t head of the law during the period of attempt proscription and actual persecution of the Reforme the professors of those opinions carried to the e treme, which the Whigs, his late allies, profes in more moderation and with a larger admixtu of aristocratic prejudices. But of him it cannot said, as of Mr. Pitt, that he had ever profes reform principles. On the contrary, the No party at all times differed upon that questi with their Foxite coadjutors, who, indeed, differ sufficiently upon it among themselves.

The character of Lord Loughborough stood less high as a judge than as either a debater parliament or an advocate at the bar. His de sions evince little of the learning of his professi and do not even show a very legal structure of t understanding. They are frequently remarkab enough for clear and even felicitous statemen but in close argument, as in profound knowledg they are evidently deficient. Some of his judgme in the Common Pleas were more distinguished b ability, and more admired at the time, than a

pronounced in the court where the greater
is life had been passed. But he was not
r at the head of the profession. His
were courteous and even noble; his libe-
s great. Wholly above any sordid feelings
e or parsimony, and only valuing his high
r the powers which it conferred, and the
rith which it was compassed round about,
ained its state with a munificent expendi-
l amassed no money for his heirs. He
over endued with personal qualities which
us profession is apt to esteem highly.
ly accomplished as a scholar, cultivating
fe the society of literary men, determined
sitating in his conduct, polite in his de-
elegant, dignified in his habits, equal in
ir to all practitioners, unawed by their
s uninfluenced by any partialities, and
n maintaining his own and his profession's
ence of any ministerial authority—those
e succeeded him never advanced greater
the personal confidence or respect of the
l his known deficiencies in much higher
ions were overlooked by men who felt
t vain of being ruled or being represented
a chief. In this exalted station he re-
uring the whole eventful years that fol-
e breaking out of the French war, and
retirement of those who had made it, a

retirement probably occasioned by the necess
restoring peace, but usually ascribed to the
troversy on the Catholic question, its pretext
occasion rather than its cause.

The fancy respecting the coronation oath
so entirely obtained possession of George
mind and actuated his conduct during the
discussion of Irish affairs, is now generally bel
to have been impressed upon it by Lord Lo
borough, and probably was devised by his
mind, as it was used by his intriguing spirit
the purpose of influencing the king. But, if
was the object of the notable device, never
intriguer more signally fail in his scheme.
cabinet to which he belonged was broken
still more crafty successor obtained both the
he had just quitted in the king's service, an
place he had hoped to fill in the king's favour
was made an earl, with the title of Roslyn
was laid on the shelf; and as his last mov
retired to a villa remarkable for its want
beauty and all comforts, but recommended
near neighbourhood to Windsor Castle, where
former Chancellor was seen dancing a ridic
attendance upon royalty, unnoticed by the
of his suit, and marked only by the jeering
motley crowd that frequented the terrace.
three years he lived in this state of public ne
without the virtue to employ his remaining

[illegible] by at-
[illegible]ndance, or the [illegible] for his own
[illegible]tection and agg[illegible] When he died,
[illegible]er a few hours' [illegible] the intelligence was
[illegible]ought to the king [illegible]h a circumspection
[illegible]ciently charact[illegible] the bearer of it if
[illegible] was quite sure o[illegible] as Lord Rosslyn had
[illegible]t been ailing be[illegible]d, upon being assured
[illegible] a sudden attac[illegible] of g[illegible] in the stomach had
[illegible]ally ended the da[illegible] of his [illegible] servant and once
[illegible]idious courtier, his majesty was graciously
[illegible]ased to exclaim—"Then he has not left a worse
[illegible]an behind him."*

It is the imperative duty of the historian to dwell upon the fate, while he discloses with impartial fulness, and marks with just reprobation, the acts of such men; to the end that their great success, as it is called, may not mislead others, and conceal behind the glitter of worldly prosperity the baser material with which the structure of their fortune is built up. This wholesome lesson, and indeed needful warning, is above all required when we are called upon to contemplate a professional and political life so eminently prosperous as the one which we have been contemplating, which rolled on in an uninterrupted tide of worldly gain and

* The liberty has been taken to translate the expressive though homely English of royalty into a phrase more decorous and less unfeeling upon such an occasion.

worldly honours, but was advanced only by
and superficial talents, supported by no fixed
ciples, illustrated by no sacrifices to public
embellished by no feats of patriotism, nor
memorable by any monuments of national
and which, being at length closed in the disap
ment of mean, unworthy desires, ended amid
versal neglect, and left behind it no claim
respect or the gratitude of mankind, though
have excited the admiration or envy of the c
porary vulgar.

LORD THURLOW.

---

ether helpmate upon whom Gibbon paints
llot of the state as reposing was as different a
n from Lord Loughborough in all respects
n well be imagined. We refer of course to
Thurlow, who filled the office of Attorney-
ral until the year 1778, when he took the
t Seal. The remains that have reached us
exhibitions as a speaker, whether at the bar,
rliament, or on the bench, are more scanty
than those of his colleagues; for, while he sat
e bench, the reports in Chancery were on the
re and jejune footing of the older books; and
only over a year or two of his presiding in the
t that Mr. Vesey, junior's, full and authentic
rts extend. There seems, however, from all
ants, to have been much less lost of Lord
low than there would have been of subsequent
es, had the old-fashioned summaries only of
y proceedings been preserved; for his way
to decide, not to reason; and, in court as well
parliament, no man ever performed the office,
her of judging or debating, with a smaller
nditure of argument.

This practice, if it saves the time of the gives but little satisfaction to the suitor judges who pursue it forget that, to satis parties, or at least to give them such grou ought to satisfy reasonable men, is in impo only next to giving them a right judgment. A as important is it to satisfy the profession country, which awaits to gather the law, t of their conduct in advising or in acting, fr lips of the judge. Nor is it immaterial to terest even of the party who gains, that the g should be made known of his success, especi courts from which there lies an appeal to a tribunal. The consequence of Sir John deciding generally with few or no reasons a was, that appeals were multiplied; the suc party had only obtained half a victory; became a remark, frequent in the mouths of sive chancellors, that causes were *decided* but *heard* before them. It is an unacco mistake into which some fall, when they fan the more weight is attached to such mere sen because prefaced by no reasons; as if the were to declare the law infallible like an or omnipotent like a lawgiver, and keep to all knowledge of the route by which he had at his conclusion. The very reverse is true. an enlightened bar and an intelligent peop mere authority of the bench will cease to b

t all, if it be unaccompanied with argu-
l explanation. But were it otherwise the
ould fail, and signally fail; for the only
of weight derived from the practice would
to which the judgment had no claim.
the outward semblance to the ignorant
e of a determination more clear and posi-
really existed. Add to all this, that no
whatever can be afforded for the mind of
e having been directed to the different
each case, and his attention having been
ke to the whole of the discussions at the
less in equity-proceedings of his having
affidavits and other documentary evidence,
states explicitly the view which he takes
rious matters, whether of law or of fact,
e been brought before him. With the
of Sir John Leach, Lord Thurlow is the
e who adopted the very bad practice of
ed decisions. But his habit of cavilling
asons of the common-law courts, when a
sent to them for their opinion, a habit
ollowed by Lord Eldon, extended to those
a remarkable and very hurtful manner,
urlow's own practice: for the temper of
rned individuals became ruffled; and, im-
f criticism upon their reasonings, instead
r courting a discussion of them, they
the evil method of returning their answers

or certificates without any reasons at all
duct which nothing but the respect due
bench could hinder men from terming child
the extreme. This custom having been much
sured by succeeding chancellors, and the Ho
Lords itself having of late years departed altog
from the old rule of only assigning reasons
a judgment or decree is to be reversed or
upon Appeal, it is to be hoped that the com
law judges will once more deign to let the pro
know the grounds of their judgments upo
highly important cases sent from Chancery,
do without the least fear of cavil or criticism
any trifling matter that comes before them,
(be it most reverently observed in passing)
very little desire to avoid either prolixity or
tition.

If Lord Thurlow, however, has left no
ments of his judicial eloquence, and if,
his place among lawyers was not the highest,
admitted to have well understood the or
practice and leading principles of those cou
which he had passed his life; and his judg
for the most part gave satisfaction to the profe
He had no mean powers of despatching the bu
of the court, and of the House of Lords whe
siding upon appeals; nor could any man i
article resemble him less than the most emin
his successors, who was understood to have

e model in [illegible] of l c [illegible]ation,
ing it, after his [illegible] h ex [illegible]res
storous than expr [illegible]e, l more p [illegible]
n becoming. Far fr [illegible]wi like Lord
a patience which [illegible] p [illegible]ixity [illegible] d exhaust,
temper which was [illegible] to be vexed by
ite argumentation nor by endless repetition
er still from cour [illegible] protracted and re-
discussion of each [illegible]tter, already worn
are—Lord Thurlow showed to the suitor
mined, and to the bar a surly, aspect, which
t perilous to try experiments on the limits
patience, by making it somewhat doubtful if
any patience at all. Aware that the judge
addressing knew enough of their common
ion not to be imposed upon, and bore so
eference to any other as to do exactly what
himself—nay, apprehensive that the measure
courtesy was too scanty to obstruct the over-
very audible sounds of the sarcastic and
ptory matter which eyes of the most fixed
beneath eye-brows formed by nature to
the abstract idea of a perfect frown, showed
gathering or already collected—the advocate
mpelled to be select in choosing his topics
mperate in handling them; and oftentimes
duced to a painful dilemma better fitted for
spatch than the right decision of causes, the
tive being presented of leaving material

points unstated, or calling down against hi
the unfavourable determination of the Co
would be incorrect to state that Lord Thur
this respect equalled or even resembled Si
Leach, with whom every consideration ma
for the vanity of clearing his cause-paper in
which rendered it physically impossible f
causes to be heard. But he certainly more
approached that extreme than he did the oppo
endless delay and habitual vacillation of exp
rather than of purpose, upon which Lord Eldo
shipwreck of his judicial reputation, though
sessing all the greater qualities of a lawyer
judge. In one important particular he an
John Leach closely resembled each other,
widely differed from the other eminent
who has just been named. While on the ben
mind of both was given wholly to the matter
them, and never wandered from it at all. An
wakeful and ever-fixed attention at once e
them to apprehend the merits of each ca
catch each point at the first statement, pre
the necessity of much after-consideration
reading, and, indeed, rehearing; and kept t
vocate's mind also directed to his points, co
his exertions within reasonable limits, while
rewarded him for his closeness and his conc
The judge's reward, too, was proportionably
He felt none of that load which pressed upo

he refle w much remained for
en all the fatigue of his attendance in
en undergone; that anxiety which
lest points should escape his reading
ve been urged in the oral arguments
without listening to them; the irri-
vexed him until he had from long use
much for it, when he looked around
inextricable confusion of his judicial
like the embarrassed trader, became
any more, or examine any closer the
situation. If a contrast were to be
en the ease and the discomfort of a
bench, as far as the personal feelings
ers are concerned, it would hardly be
beyond that which was afforded by
ldon.

vers as a debater there are now no
n an estimate, except what tradition,
g more scanty and precarious, may
ossessed great depth of voice, rolled
ces with unbroken fluency, and dis-
dence both of tone and of assertion
panied by somewhat of Dr. Johnson's
entiousness, often silenced when it
ince; for of reasoning he was pro-
ing: there are those indeed who will
e never was known to do anything
attended to, even looked like using

an argument, although, to view the speak
carelessly to hear him, you would say he was
waste the whole field of argumentation a
persing and destroying all his antagonist
aspect was more solemn and imposing than
any other person's in public life, so much
Mr. Fox used to say it proved him dishonest
no man could *be* so wise as he *looked*. Nor
neglect any of the external circumstance
trifling soever, by which attention and de
could be secured on the part of his audience.
only were his periods well rounded, and th
necting matter or continuing phrases well fu
but the tongue was so hung as to make the
rous voice peal through the hall, and ap
convey things which it would be awful to e
too near, and perilous to question. Nay,
more trivial circumstance of his place, wh
dressing the House of Lords, he scrupulo
tended. He rose slowly from his seat: he
woolsack with deliberation; but he went
the nearest place, like ordinary Chancello
sons of mortal men; he drew back by a p
two, and standing as it were askance, and
behind the huge bale he had quitted for a
he began to pour out, first in a growl, and
a clear and louder roll, the matter which
to deliver, and which for the most part co
in some positive assertions, some personal

ıp sarcasms at classes, some sentences
upon individuals as if they were
afore him for judgment, some vague
threats of things purposely not ex-
d abundant protestations of conscience
n which they who keep the consciences
:e somewhat apt to indulge.
vious that to give any examples that
l convey an idea of this kind of vamped
, delusive, nay, almost fraudulent oratory,
impossible. But one or two passages
hearsed. When he had, in 1788, first
ctively with the Whigs and the Prince
Regency question, being apparently in-
ɔrevent his former colleague, and now
, from clutching that prize—suddenly
ɡ from one of the physicians the ap-
convalescence of the royal patient, he at
nt's warning quitted the Carlton-house
came down, with an assurance unknown
les, perhaps even to himself not known
l in his place undertook the defence of
rights against his son and his partisans.
uding sentence of this unheard-of per-
vas calculated to set all belief at defiance,
ɔm the man and in the circumstances.
, for the sake of greater impressiveness,
ɔf a prayer; though certainly it was not
. in the notes of supplication, but rather

rung forth in the sounds that weekly call m
the service: "And when I forget my Sove
may my God forget me!" Wherenpon W
seated upon the foot of the throne, and wh
known him long and well, is reported to have
somewhat coarsely but not unhappily, it m
allowed, "Forget you? He'll see you d——d
Another speech in a different vein is pres
and shows some powers of drollery certainly
the same debates, a noble character, who w
markable for his delicacy and formal adhere
etiquette, having indeed filled diplomatic st
during great part of his life, had cited certain
lutions passed at the Thatched-house Tave
some great party meeting. In adverting to
Lord Thurlow said, "As to what the noble
told you that he had heard at the ale-house"
effect of this humour, nearly approaching, i
be allowed, to a practical joke, may easily b
ceived by those who are aware how much
certain in both Houses of Parliament the suc
such things always is than of the most refined a
alted wit. Upon another occasion, his misant
or rather his great contempt of all mankind,
out characteristically enough. This pre
feeling of his mind made all respect testi
wards any person, all praise bestowed upon
nay all defence of them under attack, ext
distasteful to him; indeed almost matter of p

ie. "So, once having occasion to mention public functionary, whose conduct he infi- that he disapproved, he thought fit to add, far be it from me to express any blame of ficial person, whatever may be my opinion: at, I well know, would lay me open to hear negyric." At the bar he appears to have in much the same wares; and they certainly d the staple of his operations in the commerce iety. His jest at the expense of two eminent ns, in the Duchess of Kingston's case, is well n, and was no doubt of considerable merit. those very learned personages had come forth the recesses where doctors "meet do con- ate," but in which they divide with their erous tomes the silence that is not broken by tranger footstep, and the gloom that is pierced o light from without, and appearing in a scene hich they were as strange as its gaiety was to eyes, had performed alternately the various tions of their recondite lore, Mr. Thurlow leased to say that the congress of two doctors s reminded him of the noted saying of ns—"Mirari se quod haruspex haruspicem risu adspicere posset." In conversation he as in debate, sententious and caustic. Dis- ng of the difficulty he had in appointing to a legal situation, he described himself as long ting between the intemperance of A, and the

corruption of B; but finally preferring the f
Then, as if afraid, lest he had for the moment
betrayed into anything like unqualified co
dation of any person, he added, correcting h
—"Not that there was not a —— deal of
ruption in A's intemperance." He had, how
other stores from which to furnish forth his
for he was a man of no mean classical attainm
read much Greek, as well as Latin, after h
tirement from office; and having become asso
with the Whigs, at least in the intercou
society, passed a good deal of time in the s
of Mr. Fox, for whom it is believed that he
great admiration, at least, he praised him in
exceedingly unusual with him, and was the
supposed to have admired him as much as he
any person, independent of the kind of thankf
which he must have felt to any formidable op
of Mr. Pitt, whom he hated with a hatred as h
as even Lord Thurlow could feel, commingli
dislike with a scorn wholly unbecoming and
applied.

When he quitted the Great Seal, or rather
Mr. Pitt and he quarrelling, one or other mu
and the former was well resolved to remain
retired chancellor appeared to retain a pre
terest in all the proceedings of the court whi
had left, and was fond of having Sir John L
then a young barrister, to spend the evenings

ilate whatever had passed in the course
It seemed somewhat contrary to his
ıre and contracted habits of thinking,
ould feel any great concern about the
ɔh the administration of justice should
:hat he slumbered upon the shelf. But
r was easily explained, by observing that
:elt, in at least its ordinary force, the
ıich men long used to office bear towards
ıre so presumptuous as to succeed them;
s gratified by thus sitting as a secret
ɔvision, hearing of any mistakes com-
Lord Loughborough, and pronouncing
measured terms his judgment of reversal
· things in which the latter no doubt

determination and clearness were more
than in the real vigour of his mind,
e no doubt; for though, in disposing of
may have shown little oscitancy, as
e seldom arises any occasion for it where
easonably acquainted with his business
is attention without reserve to the dis-
yet, in all questions of political conduct,
ıberations upon measures, he is known
en exceedingly irresolute. Mr. Pitt
ı colleague wholly unfruitful in council,
'ays apt to raise difficulties, and very

slow and irresolute of purpose. The
he joined them, soon discovered how in
of mind there lay concealed behind
form of vigour and decision. He saw
but the obstacles to any course; was
of doubts and expedients to escape di
appeared never prompt to act, but ev
oppose whoever had anything to recom
little, as might be expected, did this
less and impatient vehemence of Mr.
he described him as "that enemy of
action."

Of a character so wanting in the
lities which entitle the statesman to co
respect, or the orator to admiration,
affirmed that what he wanted in claim
favour he made up in titles to esteem
as a private individual. His life was
great and habitual a disregard of
usually cast round high station, espe
legal profession, as makes it extremely
the grave and solemn exterior in w
wont to shroud himself were anything
manner he had acquired; for, assured
that he wore it as a cloak whereby m
deceived, would hardly be consistent
nary habits, as remote as well could
semblance of hypocrisy; and so

ation of ap [illegible] he v [illegible], that he
, almost be [illegible] to [illegible] e [illegible] Regent
ns, the "bad eminen[illegible] of l [illegible] worse."*

. Simon relates a saying of [illegible] [IV.
ted nephew, which, he [illegible] p [illegible]
erefore, that skilful writer o[illegible] [illegible]
, genius of this "trait [illegible]
n des vices qu'il n'a pas."

LORD MANSFIELD.

CONTEMPORARY with these two disti
lawyers, during the latter period of his li
legal personage in every respect far more
than either, *the first* Lord Mansfield, th
few men, not at the head of state affairs,
any period of our history filled an exalted
for a longer period with more glory to the
or with a larger share of influence over the
of their country. He was singularly endo
the qualities most fitted both to smooth
the path to professional advancement, to
admiration of the world at large, and to
or even expand the authority of whateve
situation he might be called to occupy.
all the advantages of a finished classical ed
adding to this the enlargement of mind
from foreign travel, undertaken at an a
attentive observation can be accompan
mature reflection; he entered upon the p
of the law some years after he had reache
estate; and showed as much patient ind
awaiting, by attendance in the courts, th
ments and the honours of the gown, a

ed diligr s himself for its
ns and its duties. . e exion with Scot-
easily introduced him i the practice af-
d by the appellate ; : of House
ords;* and the accid ital in n of his
r, a few years after ra i given him
pportunity of distingr ng l ? before a
he speedily rose int extensive j tice, not,
wer, so much in Common-law e as in
nery.

n years after he entered the profession he was
Solicitor-General and came into parliament,
h he had hitherto shunned, observing, with
ution so characteristic of the man and of the
n, "That he had many respected friends on
sides of the House, and did not care to lose
patronage of both parties for the favour of
" If this principle be as great an honour to
public virtue as to his personal discretion, his
pher has done well to record it in proof of
raises which he lavishes upon him; and cer-
y nothing in the subsequent course of his life
be found which betokens a falling off from the
y circumspection of his outset in life.

He soon rose to such eminence in this, that his bio-
her, Halliday, has mentioned him as engaged in thirty
als during one session. A worse piece of biography
Halliday's, it may be observed in passing, hardly exists,
thstanding its having so admirable a subject.

His powers as an advocate were great, t
not first-rate. In manner, which he had st
so much that Pope was found one day superin
ing him while he practised before a looking
—in a sweetness of voice which by nature
almost unequalled—in clearness and skill of
ment, which he so greatly laboured, that it
said his story was worth other men's argum
in the wariness and discretion so necessary t
that represents another's interest, as an adv
does his client's,—in knowledge accurate, as
it went, if not very profound, of the princip
the law; and in an enlarged view of general
jects, whether of jurisprudence or of a more l
kind—he stood high, either above all his co
poraries, or in their foremost rank. A c
want of vigour, a rising from the inroads whi
constitutional caution made into the neighbo
dominions of its ally, fear, prevented him fro
filling the first place among advocates; and t
thing that deserved the name of genius or of
nality he preferred at no time and in no c
any claims. Atkins, his staunch admirer, ha
served, with extreme eulogy, one of his argu
in a case of great importance; it is learne
able, but far from justifying the preference
to it over those of the other counsel, whose
ments in the same cause are also reported.

In the House of Commons it was his fort

nd the measures of government, when no men
minence filled the front ranks of the opposition
y, excepting Mr. Pitt (Lord Chatham); and
perilous task of encountering him always was
rved for the ministerial chief himself. That
was very successful as an elegant and persuasive
ker, is certain; that he was unequal to fill a
place, at a time when the secret had not been
overed of posting second-rate men in such
tions, is as undeniable; and it is known that
hit this inadequacy: for an arrangement was at
period proposed, by which he was to have taken
lead, on the part of the government, and he
mptorily declined it. Indeed, he was both
scious of his power lying in a different direction,
resolved to follow the bent at once of his capa-
and his inclination. Accordingly, on the
th of Chief Justice Ryder, though much pressed
emain in parliament at a time when the mi-
ry could ill spare him from the Treasury Bench,
distinctly intimated that, if he were not pro-
ed to the place which he considered the At-
ey-General's right, he should cease to hold any
e; and a hint which was easily understood
wisely taken.

ver that great court he presided above thirty
s; and his administration of its functions
ng that long period shed a lustre alike upon
tribunal and the judge. Although he had

chiefly practised in Chancery
Lords, yet his correct legal un
cellent sense, his familiar act
general principles of jurispr
speedily supplied any deficien
have in the practice of the C
and the proceedings at Nisi
whole faculties, his temper, and
to the very defects which he
advocate, were admirably calc
exalted station. His mind
indeed, eminently judicial; and
if, taking both the externals an
qualities into the account, that
judge, any one has ever admi
this country whom we can fair
The greatest clearness of appr
sufficient, and not extreme, w
perilous, often allied with imp
degenerate into hastiness; a
of statement, whether delivering
court and the bar, or giving
jury; conciseness with clearn
contributions which his unde
wards the formation of his judic
he had a constant command o
trayed into anger, or impatien
spleen or any other breach o
perfect equanimity, either to

ss. To th [illegible] ties, intellectual
ral, he added [illegible] of a diction clas-
d elegant; the orna [illegible], indeed, the
ion of frequent refe [illegible]e to larger views
s more technical disc [illegible]n of legal ques-
quires; and the fasci [illegible]a [illegible]n of a voice sin-
flexible and sweet; and he flung over the
of this fine judicial figure the garb of a
at once dignified and attractive. They
ver had seen Lord Thurlow, might well
they had heard him, if they enjoyed access
excellent imitators as George IV. and
Holland. As perfect a substitute for Lord
ld's manner was to be found in Lord
, between whom and that celebrated person
ng prevailed a great intimacy founded upon
cere mutual admiration.

benefits conferred by this accomplished judge
e Court where he so long presided, and
ts suitors, were manifold and substantial.
an by at once so regulating the distribution
business, as to remove all uncertainty of the
which should be taken up each day, and to
h both the expense and the delay and the
on of former times. He restored to the
ar the privilege of moving in turn, instead
ning this to the last day of the term. He
abolished the tedious and costly practice of
the same case argued several times over,

restricting such rehearings to questions of re
culty and adequate importance. He gave a
hours to the business both of Banc and of
as was required for dispatching it without u
sary delay. The ascendant which he gain
over the Bar and the Bench precluded all
prolixity of argument, all unseemly wr
between the Court and the counsel, all incon
differences of opinion among the Judges.
result was, that while no time was wasted,
satisfaction was given by the clear and
grounds upon which the decisions were
while the cases were so speedily and
dispatched, that the other Courts of Commo
were drained of their business without the c
of the Court of King's Bench being choked
overflowing. For nearly thirty years the
not more than half a dozen cases in wh
Judges differed, and not so many in wh
judgments pronounced were reversed.

But during a considerable period Lord M
also presided in the House of Lords, or, as
member of that body, directed its decisio
appeals. Nothing could be more satisfacto
his conduct of this very important depar
nor anything less resembling one at least
most eminent successors, Lord Eldon, in disch
this duty. He was master of each case when
called on for hearing, and put the counsel t

which he e on either side in those
ly prepared printed tatements, which Lord
d to treat with the attention due to equal
waste paper. But he did not prevent any
s from being raised at the bar, any more
ould wish to prevent any new arguments
g urged in support of the points which the
ases disclosed. He showed, too, as great
and vigour in forming his judgment,
upon questions of foreign law, as he did
ing the conduct of the arguments, although
ds of the advocates accustomed to some-
lix statements. Where he was clearly
that the Scotch Judges had mistaken
law, he did not scruple to reverse their
and restore the violated purity of the
though in doing so he assumed to correct
had made it the study of their lives;
heads peculiar to Scottish jurisprudence,
the English law affords no parallel, and
he could derive no light at all from his
ssional habits. It was he who reversed
on of the Court of Session upon the cele-
ntreath case; which, as ruled by him,
as much the corner-stone of the Scotch
ail, as Shelly's case does that of England;
all lawyers are now agreed that he was
ay fairly be doubted whether some of his
, and especially Lord Eldon, would have

ventured to overrule some other judgm
the Scottish Courts had equally gone
plying their own law, had not Lor
shown the salutary courage which he
that first and most remarkable revers
easy to overrate the importance of
and judicious administration of the p
in the High Court of Appeal. Encumb
tribunal is with so many difficulties fro
law which it must needs administer,
those aids from the Judges, which it
upon the far better known and more se
of English jurisprudence, nothing can
purity of our judicial system, or reta
the respect and affection of the Sco
except a succession of such able, enli
determined Judges as Lord Mansfield
Court ever proved himself to be.

Upon all common cases where a Ju
no possible reason for leaning tow
rather than another in a country w
bribery or solicitation is unknown,
strict justice can ever be committed ex
the temper of the individual, or his
ness towards particular practitioners.
sionally there arise questions in our
especially in the King's Bench, the
tribunal of the realm, where political c
mix themselves with the trial, and wh

[illegible] ces—questions, the occurrence [illegible] uld have made the placing a Lord [illegible] in the cabinet a grievous breach of th[illegible] in 1806, although there had been no o[illegible] ns [illegible]nst that most reprehensible prece[illegible] That Lord Mansfield was no longer the [illegible] pattern of living justice, the same *lex loquens* on those occasions, has been many generally affirm[illegible]; and although the errors of his enemies, espe[illegible]ally of Junius, have been long since exploded, there is little room to doubt that in trials for libel he leant against the freedom of discussion, and favoured those doctrines long current, but now cried down by statute, which withdrew the cognizance of the question from the Jury to vest it in the Court. That he felt the same disgust at newspaper attacks upon individuals, the same dislike of vehement and unmeasured invectives against the abuses of our institutions, the same alarm at assaults upon the existing institutions themselves, which in all ages have distinguished all our judges, may readily be admitted. Who will pretend, even in our days, far more before Mr. Fox's Libel Act, that Lord Mansfield alone of all judges defined the liberty of the press only as a power of publishing without a previous licence? In this, as in all his opinions and prejudices upon the subject, he resembled all other judges of all former times, and, with very few exceptions, those also of our own day.

But that he should ever betray his prejudi
feelings in any branch of justice while tryi
cular cases, would have been eminently inc
with the whole tenor of his cautious and cir
demeanour upon the bench, and have bet
want of that self-command which in hi
habitual as to have become truly a second
His leaning towards the side of authority
or twice remarked in cases of importance,
where both the legal principle and the
were far from being clearly settled. Th
application for a mandamus to the justices
an order of filiation upon a foreign amb
secretary, he somewhat hastily refused it,
the motion to be a device for obtaining th
opinion, and an attempt to draw it into
with foreign states. This view was man
sisted by the counsel who moved; and Mr
Yates took part with them. In the
Mansfield gave way, and the remedy wa
as sought. But it must be observed, that
judge present, Mr. Justice Aston, at first
concurred with the Chief Justice, and only
his opinion upon further consideration, bein
by the reasoning of the dissenting judge.
objection was likewise taken to his directin
in the case of Lord Grosvenor's action f
tion against the Duke of Cumberland, that
and station of the plaintiff made no differen

to dama ; an opinion which, after the
r experience of later times in such proceed-
ppears as soon as it is stated to be altogether
ous, but which, if it favoured the Prince who
fendant on the one hand, certainly indicated,
other, a sufficient respect for the equal rights
classes of plaintiffs, and might be as unpa-
to the Aristocracy as it was pleasing to the

re needs little to be said of what at the time
l great discussion in the profession, the judg-
which he delivered in the celebrated case of
v. Blake. That it was erroneous, no lawyer
ubt; but that it required all the adherence
t principle of which the most technical mind
eptible, to apply in such a question the
Rule in Shelly's case, is equally certain:
order to make that application, and to con-
te the triumph of the Rule, it was necessary
court to construe a man's will giving an
"for the life of the devisee, and no longer,"
ft of that estate to him in tail, consequently
e power of at once converting his interest
fee simple. Although it is impossible to
at this is the true legal construction of such
e, if, as in the case of J. Williams's will, the
der is afterwards given to the heirs of the
's body; for to hold otherwise would be to
te the rule in Shelly's case, which is both

founded on strict legal principles, and he
centuries been the corner-stone of English
veyancing: yet it is fit that we keep in mi
apparent paradox to which it led, in order t
count for so great a judge as Lord Mansfield h
leant against this application, which he regar
an extension of the Rule; and from which hi
and wholesome habit of always as much as po
preferring substance to technicality made hi
viate. It must also be observed, that here,
the former instance, he had the concurrence
learned brethren, excepting only Mr. Justice Y
whose difference of opinion led to his leavin
Court of King's Bench, and removing to the
mon Pleas for the very short residue of his
respectable and useful life.* But an acciden
most unimportant kind made more talk in W
minster Hall than all the real merits of eith
judges or the cause. It appeared that while
bar Lord Mansfield's opinion had been taken
the point raised by this very will, and that h
said, as he ought to have said, "The devisee

* This able, learned, and upright judge showed a
greatly extolled in those times, but which, it is to be
every member of the bench would now display as a m
course. The Minister having tampered with him
previous to some trial involving rights of the Cro
King was foolish or wicked enough to write him a
and he returned it unopened. Alderman Townsend
this in Parliament, and it was not contradicted.

ntate tail, ly nance,
ever read the remark . Boo . Fearn.
other conveyances ng circum-
se, and not marvel at tl p y and cap-
ness, so little worth and able
: What if Mr. Mu ay's opinion di d from
l Mansfield's judgm it? It would not have
ed the judgment to have been wrong; and if
counsellor had given what on more mature
beration, and after hearing the case argued by
the learning of the bar, the Judge deemed an
neous opinion, was he to sacrifice his duty of
ding by his conscience at the time, to an un-
thy fear of appearing inconsistent? If his
ion had undergone a change, was he not to
w it? Nay, was it any shame to change his
ion upon hearing the subject for the first time
y discussed?

The ridiculous charge brought by Junius and
rs against his direction to the jury on the
ne Circuit, in a case of trespass between two
nown individuals, and where no possible motive
partiality could be imagined or was ever pre-
led, we hardly perhaps should mention, were it
an illustration of the outcry which absolute
orance may sometimes succeed in raising. It
the case of Mears *v.* Ansell, which was tried
re him on the circuit, in 1772; and a new trial
granted by the Common Pleas on the ground

founding
ceeding
one
137

ustice had improperly directed
the testimony of two subscrib
ary to their signed attestat
t "a new disgrace of Mansfield
his published letter, with profo
ignorance — the whole practice of the cou
mentioned it as a proof of extraordinary diss
faction with the summing up, that the new t
was granted without the payment of costs; addi
"that the usual terms were thus dispensed wit
The same *learned* note adds, that the planti
attorney moved the next term to have his n
struck off the Roll of the King's Bench attorn
and that "he was immediately admitted into
Common Pleas;" a mere matter of course, as ev
one but Junius must have known.

As to Junius's charge of illegal conduct in b
ing a felon taken with the mainour, his celebra
letter betrays as great ignorance of the most co
monly known matters of law (*e. g.* that Justices
Peace are at sessions Judges of Record, and
King's justices) as it does confusion in argume
and vacillation through legal ignorance, and unc
tainty about the grounds on which he rests
charge. Indeed, he himself shifted them in
fending his first argument; and it was at the ti
universally allowed that he was altogether in
wrong. Lord Camden was said at first to b
agreed with him; but that he abandoned so

ble a gro] fr his never once, gh called upon, vent | to touch the subject. when he had valis tly (ounced impeach- t against the Chief Justice for this bail case, h after the manner of Cobbett and others in r times, this writer charged him with gross lity in reversing the decree against Lord tham upon the suit arising out of the Burton sent devise; and after this reversal had been ciously ascribed to corrupt favour, towards political antagonist too, when the matter was ined, it was found that the Commissioners he Great Seal had only considered one point, on that had made their decree, whereas there ined another point decisive of the matter, h way soever the former might be determined. n this new point the Judges were consulted, upon this they were unanimous for the appeal, ough upon the others they differed; so that a rsal of the decree was almost a matter of course, it was much rather the act of the Judges than ord Mansfield. Junius being overthrown by plain and incontrovertible statement, had the age to treat it as a quibble only worthy of a ister (Letter LXIII.), although he had himself re explicitly said, that he was at issue with l Mansfield's defenders on the question, whether ot he (Lord Mansfield) had given any opinion he case in the House of Lords, and "that this

was a question of fact to be determined
dence only." (Letter LXI.)

These things are far indeed from
portant. They affect essentially the
judicial reputation. They show upon
of grounds the fabric of a great man's
fame, as well as the purity of his mor
were assailed by the unprincipled viole
at the instigation of their ignorance,
hind a signature made famous by
language and the boldness of being ve
the person of a printer who gained
dastardly slander to act through him
rious courage. They tend to reduce
of such an author's value as much as th
reputation of those whom, from his lu
he had assailed; and they read a memo
to the people, if upon such subjects the
can be taught, not to repose confide
who are unknown against men whose
are passed in the face of open day, an
constant security of personal responsi
let it be forgotten upon what things
country was required to embark in a p
Lord Mansfield. Nor let it cease to be
that upon such grounds as we have be
the most popular writers of the day we
call him "cowardly"—"cunning"—
—"a juggler"—"a bad man and a wo

creature at one time hateful, at another contemptible"—"one meriting every term of reproach and every idea of detraction the mind can form"—"a cunning Scotchman, who never speaks truth without a fraudulent design"—"a man of whom it is affirmed, with the most solemn appeal to God, that he is the very worst and most dangerous man in the kingdom."* But it turned out afterwards that the same anonymous writer, who, while he wore the mask of Junius, almost ever praised Lord Chatham, had under other disguises assailed him as bitterly as he had his antagonists; and his rancorous hate of the great patriot does all but outstrip his slanderous assaults upon the venerable judge. He (Lord Chatham) is described as "not a man of mixed character, whose vice might be redeemed by some appearance of virtue and generosity, but a man purely and perfectly bad." It is said we may easily foretel "the progress of such a traitor, and the probable event of his crimes," since he led "a life of artifice, intrigue, hypocrisy, and impudence;" a career "which equally violates every principle of honour and morality"—"an abandoned profligate"—"so black a villain, that though we have no Tarpeian rock, yet a gibbet is not too honourable a situation for the carcase of a traitor"—"a base apostate"—"the stalking-horse of a stallion" (Lord Bute)—"below contempt"—"a venomous reptile"

* Junius's Letters, xli. lix. lxiii. lxix.

—"a lunatic"—and "a raving madman." * great gravamen, too, of these charges agai is his leaning towards the Americans, of wh furious, shallow, and conceited writer was a and intemperate opponent, as he was a b advocate of the mother-country's tyranny.

It may surely be said with justice, that su closures as these, while they reduce to thei level the claims of Junius to fame, easily a for the author having died and kept his own He appears to have been a person in whose every fierce and malignant passion raged w the control of a sound judgment, and witho kindly feeling to attemper his nature. Writ a time when good or even correct compositi little studied, and in the newspapers hardl met with, his polished style, though very fa being a correct one, and farther still from pure English, being made the vehicle of sarcasm, and pointed invective, naturally ex degree of attention which was further main by the boldness of his proceedings. No m read a page of any letter without perceivin the writer has but one way of handling ever ject, and that he constructs his sentences w sole design of saying the most bitter things in the most striking way, without ever regard

* Miscellaneous Letters, published by Woodfall vol ii.

least degr : being applicable or inapplie to the object of the attack. The consequence hat the greater part of his invective will just one bad man or w ked minister as well as her. It is highly pr le that whoever he ht be, he had often at d those with whom lived on intimate te , or to whom he was er obligations. This an additional reason his dying unrevealed. T t was neither d Ashburton, nor any otl yer, is proved what we have said of his gross ignorance of law. hold that he was Mr. Francis is libelling that tleman's memory; and although much external dence concurs in pointing towards him, he cerly never wrote anything of the same kind in his character.

But those charges made against Lord Mansfield's icial conduct were definite and precise. Others e urged of a kind so vague, that it was impose distinctly to apprehend or pointedly to meet m. He was accused of encroaching upon the ainty of the common law, by making his views d to general notions of substantial justice. That vas always anxious to get at the body of the case, deal with it so as to give merited success to oubted right, is admitted; and in sometimes lecting the dictates of technical rules, when they tructed his path towards substantial justice, he ht possibly overlook the great advant

having a fixed rule applicable to all cases; tages well worth the unavoidable price whic be paid for them in the occasional hardship, apparent absurdity, that may attend their in application. But when the same objecti vanced to his introducing rules universally cable, and choosing those which are more co with common sense and liberal feeling th merely technical analogy, we are bound from the criticism with indignation. By thi he was improving our jurisprudence, and croaching upon its principles; nor was the c of the law in any way impaired by establis rules upon an enlarged basis.

That he was fond of drawing over e notions from the Courts in which he h chiefly trained, and applying them to the deration of legal matters, is the same objec another form. Some of the most valuable of our common-law remedies are derive Equity; witness the action for money received, and indeed the action of *Ind assumpsit* generally: and special pleadi never saw a bill or an answer, but when th used in evidence at *nisi prius*, such men Justice Chambre, (among the first ornament profession, as among the most honest and of men,) have shown their sense of the ad thus gained to the common law by remindi

less learned men, like Lord Chief Justice Gibbs, his circumstance, when they grounded their ment upon the position that the point they attacking was one of an equitable, and not of gal consideration. As for the clamour (and it nothing more than clamour, and ignorant cla- r, too) that Lord Mansfield was making the Saxon principles of our jurisprudence bend to of the Civil Law, it is wholly marvellous that of any understanding or education should have been found so much the slaves of faction as to mise it. Lord Mansfield at no period of his ver had, or could have had, the least predilec- for the civil law, arising from any familiarity its institutions. He never was a Scotch advo- at all; or if he was, it must have been in the e, for he left Scotland at three years of age. the Consistorial Courts, if by their practice Civil Law is meant, he had necessarily very intercourse.* Chancery has nothing to do that system unless in so far as it prefers the practice of written depositions to *vivâ voce* inations; and also in so far as every rational m of jurisprudence must necessarily have much

t would, in our times, have been impossible for him to my practice at all in these courts unless in cases of l, formerly before the Delegates, now in the Privy cil. But when Lord Mansfield was at the bar, it was stom for common lawyers to attend important cases in rs' Commons. This, however, was of rare occurrence.

in common with the most perfect structu
ever was formed of rules for classifying righ
marshalling the remedies for wrongs. N
anything be found in all the train of his de
which betokens more leaning towards the
code than a regard for the enlarged and un
principles of abstract justice sanctioned, if
not prescribe. Yet could the most popular
of the day, those, too, whose pretences e
legal learning were the most obtrusive, de
the Chief Justice as engaged in a deliberate
reduce slavery to system, "by making the
code the law of nations, and the opinion of
civilians his perpetual theme," after the exa
"the Norman lawyers, who made the N
Conquest complete;" and as thus "corrupt
such treacherous arts the noble simplicity a
spirit of our Saxon laws."* Ignorance
surely go beyond this point. The civil la
became hostile to liberty through the imperf
tion of it introduced by the Emperors, and
made the will of the Prince the law of th
In no other particular is it at variance wit
dom; and who ever dreamt that Lord M
had the power of introducing that portion,
inclination have been ever so much bent in
direction?

But this topic leads us to the political

* Junius's Letters, No. xli.

brought against this great magistrate.
ely for his fame as well as for his tran-
continued to mix in politics after he
be in the service of the crown as an
He not only acted as Speaker of the
ords for above a year, but for a much
he had a seat in the cabinet, and took
e business of government, all the more
le in his position, that it was much more
it was open and avowed.
he Great Seal was in commission pre-
ra Bathurst's obtaining it as Chancellor,
sfield was, to all political intents and
the Chancellor, without having the re-
of that high office: nor did he less act
l adviser of the government, when that
ut somewhat feeble individual, more
filled the place. The vice of the Chief
haracter was a want of boldness, that
shrink from personal responsibility.
never would accept the first station in
nd hence, too, he was believed to have
lvised many things, which he either had
had only passively suffered; for, when
tesman acquires the evil reputation of
esponsibility while he seeks power, there
nting the world from tracing every mis-
ource which appears to hide itself only
ere is something to conceal.
e want of nerve more than once appeared

nor could be said to do otherw
language of rebuke and refu
with the popular demands.

His character in private life
He never had any children, but
were without a stain. His cho
in the polished society of liter
of the arts; and his powers
extolled in all the traditions th
present age, as of a very high
manners were polished and wi
believed from the impression hi
uniformly made. But when to
his great and various knowledg
available to the uses of society,
and mild temper, his love of
and his power of contributing to
and classical wit, it is not di
what the reports mean which
him as fascinating beyond almo
his time. Through a vigorous
which no excess of any kind,
and ever made inroads, he lived
age, dying from exhausted natur
He presided in court regularly
eighty-second year, and resig
eighty-fourth, having continued
office for two or three years lon
to have done or could discharg

ope of prevailing with the ministry to appoint his favourite Judge Buller his successor. But Mr. Pitt, while at the bar, had seen things in that able and unscrupulous magistrate which made him resolve that no such infliction should fall on the English bench; and it is to his virtuous resolution that the preference of Lord Kenyon was due, which Lord Thurlow always arrogated to himself.

It has become the more necessary to dwell at some length upon the history of this great man, because a practice has prevailed of late years in the profession which he adorned, and even upon the bench which he so much more than any of his predecessors illustrated, of treating him with much less respect than is his due. The narrow minds of little men cannot expand even to the full apprehension of that excellence with which superior natures are gifted, or which they have by culture attained. They are sufficiently susceptible, however, of envious feelings to begrudge virtue the admiration which it has justly earned; and jealous that any portion of applause should be drawn away from the many technicalities of their own obscure walk, they carp at some trifling slips which may have been made in the less weighty matters of the law, the only portions their understandings can grasp. It has thus grown into a kind of habit with some men, very respectable in their own department, to decry Lord Mansfield as no lawyer, to speak lightly of his

decisions, and to gratulate themselve
not intrude yet greater changes i
system by further departure from stri
a more enlarged view even of the rigo
of our jurisprudence, will at once bru
away, and show the truth of a positio
by the vulgar, both gowned and un
great minds may be as correct in det
ful to deal with the most general pri

ID CHIEF JUSTICE GIBBS.

ıss of the inferior though able men to
have just referred, the late Sir Vicary
ı certainly among the most eminent; and
the perfections of the order, and more
ırdinary share of its faults. It is a great
ımitted only by those who view them from
ı imagine that their learning is of a con-
re, either in their own profession or in
ınches of education. They are in no
ere special pleaders, or men familiar only
practice of the courts. They are even
espects not to be termed mere lawyers.
acquainted with the whole of the law,
ey have studied accurately, and might
dmitted to have studied profoundly, if
be predicated of those researches, which,
ely dreading to penetrate the more stub-
more deep-lying vein of first principle,
rry the labourer towards the shallower
bed that contains the relics of former
and make him rest satisfied with these
ıs the guide and the rule. All that has

decisions, and to gratulate themselves that
not intrude yet greater changes into our
system by further departure from strict rules
a more enlarged view even of the rigorous do
of our jurisprudence, will at once brush these
away, and show the truth of a position ever
by the vulgar, both gowned and ungowned
great minds may be as correct in details, as
ful to deal with the most general principle

)RD CHIEF JUSTICE GIBBS.

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a class of the inferior though able men to
. we have just referred, the late Sir Vicary
s was certainly among the most eminent; and
d all the perfections of the order, and more
the ordinary share of its faults. It is a great
r, committed only by those who view them from
off, to imagine that their learning is of a con-
d nature, either in their own profession or in
er branches of education. They are in no
pect mere special pleaders, or men familiar only
:h the practice of the courts. They are even
some respects not to be termed mere lawyers.
ıey are acquainted with the whole of the law,
ıich they have studied accurately, and might
o be admitted to have studied profoundly, if
pth can be predicated of those researches, which,
tinctively dreading to penetrate the more stub-
rn and more deep-lying vein of first principle,
vays carry the labourer towards the shallower
d softer bed that contains the relics of former
rkmei and make him rest satisfied with these
tterns as the guide and the rule. All that ha

been said or written, however, by text-men
judges, they know; and of it all, much pr
has given them great expertness in the applic
Then their education has not been confined to
matter of law. It has indeed been far from
enlarged one; nor has it brought them into a
liar acquaintance with the scenes which expa
mind, make it conscious of new powers, and
to compare, and expatiate, and explore. Y
this course of instruction not been witho
value; for they are generally well versed i
sical literature, and often acquainted with
matical science. From the one, however,
derive little beside the polish which it com
cates and the taste which it refines; fro
other, they only gain a love of strict and in
rules, with a disinclination towards the rela
and allowances prescribed by the diversi
moral evidence. From both they gather
found deference for all that has been said o
before them, an exclusive veneration for anti
and a pretty unsparing contempt for the unl
and unpolished class which form and ever
form the great bulk of mankind in all commu
A disrespect for all foreign nations and th
stitutions has long been another appointed f
the same tree; and it has been in proport
the overweening fondness for everything
own system, whether of polity or of man

'ing interruption of all intercourse with the
ent during the late war had greatly in-
these narrow and absurd prejudices, which
w somewhat more nearly brought back to
ancient level. But still the precise dictates
glish statutes, and the dicta of English judges
English text-writers, are with them the standard
ice; and in their vocabulary, English law is
ch a synonyme for the perfection of wisdom
that of Dean Swift's imaginary kingdom,
was for the "perfection of nature."

'lawyers who belong to this class, by far the
numerous in the profession, it is also a great
ke to suppose that the talents are confined to
legal matters, the discussion of dry points,
the conduct of suits according to technical
. Many of them are subtle and most able
ers; some even powerful reasoners. As ad-
ble a display of logical acumen, in long and
ined chains of pure ratiocination, is frequently
bited among their ranks as can be seen in the
vators of any department of rhetoric, or the
nts of any branch of science. They often
s high pretences to eloquence, and, without
ning its first rank, are frequently distinguished
reat powers of speech, as well as extraordinary
in the management of business. Their legal
tation, however, is the chief object of their
; and in their pursuit of oratory, they aim far

more at being eloquent lawyers than
learned in the law. Hence their estimate
fessional merit is all formed on the same p
and graduated by one scale. They underv
accomplishments of the rhetorician, with
spising them; and they are extremely s
of any enlarged or general views upon so
a subject as the law. Change, they with d
can bring their minds to believe possible;
any change for the better: and specula
theory on such matters is so much an o
distrust, or rather of mingled contempt an
sion, that when they would describe anythi
culous, or even anomalous in the professi
cannot go beyond what they call "a spe
lawyer." To expect success in such a one
was formerly thought absurd. But th
triumph of Sir Samuel Romilly was a sor
bling-block to technical minds. A free
upon legal matters, if ever any existed;
plished, learned, eloquent, philosophical;
rose to the very head of his profession, an
pelled them to believe what Erskine had
make them admit—that a man may be
learned in all the mere niceties of the la
to the very meanest details of court pract
yet be able to soar above the higher l
general speculation, and to charm by his elo
and enlighten by his enlarged wisdom, as

ale the Bench and head the Bar by his merel
nical superiority.

he professional character of the men whom we
discussing is generally pure and lofty; the
r to which they belong is sacred in their eyes;
ame, its dignity, even to its etiquette, must all
ept unsullied; and whatever may be their pre-
ces and their habits, political or professional,
great soever their deference to power, how
bound their veneration for the bench, how deep-
d their attachment to existing institutions,
fierce their hostility to all innovations, how
or how scornful their frown upon the mul-
e at large, yet is their courage undaunted in
ding whatever client may entrust his suit to
patronage, be he a rabble-leader or a treason-
er, a libeller or a blasphemer; and in dis-
ing towards him the high duties of their re-
tative character, they so little regard either
entment of the government or the anger of
urt, that they hardly are conscious of any
n sacrificing every personal consideration
performance of their representative, and
it is representative, their eminently im-
office.

men whom we have now endeavoured to
s a class, Sir Vicary Gibbs was a perfect
Endowed by nature with great acuteness
limited power of application, he became,

to use his own somewhat
towards as considerable a man
more amiable one, "as good a
of man can be." Discipline
classical education, the fruits
him to the last, and somewhat
favourite pursuits of Cambridge
always correct, and his reason
considerable as they ever can
narrow range. To eloquence
derate pretences; yet was
gurgled out rather than flowed
clear and transparent, owning
pure, if somewhat shallow, and
numerous, not original, not
not brought up from the lowe
yet suited to each occasion, wel
made easily accessible to othe
portion in which they were co
by himself. His legal argume
to be admired. He did not go
on from point to point, garnis
two observations, as many cit
many cases; so that the whole
without breadth or relief, and
seem as much as any other th
the conclusion turned—but
governing principle roundly a
forward his leading idea by w

marshalled and ruled; he used his master-key at
, and used it throughout, till he had unlocked
the apartments by which he mounted to the
st Chamber, and he left the closets untouched,
they who followed him might, if they chose,
e their time in picking the locks, or lose
r way in the dark bye-passages. It might be
of him, as he said himself of Sir James Mans-
, that "he declared the law," while he argued
ness; and while others left only the impression
he hearer that many authorities had been cited,
much reading displayed, his argument pene-
d into the mind, and made it assent to his
ems, without much regarding the support they
d from other quarters. But he was also a
considerable person at *Nisi Prius*. His
ect and easy knowledge of all legal matters
here by no means his only superiority. He
ready in dealing with evidence; he could
ent to the Jury the facts of his case boldly and
high relief; though he was wholly unable to
aim, and never dreamt of addressing the feel-
or the passions, any more than if he were
king to mummies without any sensation, much
any feelings or passions to address; yet he
ld, especially when clothed with the dignity of
official station, deliver himself with consider-
emphasis, though without any fluency, and
ld effect the purpose of impressing the fact

which he showed,—nay, was not exceeded e
the manly boldness which won for that lea
most imperishable of all his titles to the adm
and gratitude of mankind.

The general narrowness of Sir Vicary G
mind has been marked; but on the side of
and self-conceit it was out of proportion
dimensions in other parts. It always seemed
no one could do anything to please him, s
individual; and *his* performances were rated
most exorbitant value. Nay, the opinion o
favoured personage he estimated so highly
there always lay an appeal to him from the
as well as from every other authority; and
sometimes truly laughable to observe the
which he attached to a single sentence or a
from one with whom he was ever so entirely
fied. On a certain trial he had occasion to m
some recent victories of Lord Wellington's
in the Peninsula, and had named three battle
praise not very lavish, because every wor
deemed of inestimable value, but had o
Busaco; he corrected himself very ostentati
and went back to include that fight, with the
ing manifest to all who heard him, that re
irreparable, possibly fatal injury would be d
the troops, had the momentary omission unh
not been supplied. When he came amo
heads of the law, whether in his own court

nal meet the twelve, even while
puisne judge, he ogated the place and
nce due to the chief of the whole; and when
made first Chief Ba and afterwards Chief
, there were no bo to his contempt for
opinions of all his br ren, although it is
leniable fact that he was not nearly so much
vished for the soundness of his opinions upon
nch as he had been for the excellence of his
ents at the bar. In trials at *Nisi Prius* he
stinguished for the little and peevish temper
predominated in him, often to the seeming
of his judgment, almost always to the detri-
of his judicial powers; and so absolutely was
rsuaded of his own universal capacity, and
iversal unfitness of others, that it was no un-
on thing for him to ask, somewhat roughly,
counsel's brief, that he might see what was
ed to be stated; then lecture the attorney
had prepared it; soon after the witnesses;
own to the officers of the court, whose func-
of keeping silence and order he would occa-
ly himself undertake to perform. So that it
ot an uncommon remark that the learned
Justice was performing at once, in his own
, the offices of judge and jury, counsel for
parties, attorneys for both, witnesses on both
and crier of the court. To the same con-
spirit was owing his much graver offence of

parading rash opinions upon branc
with which the previous habits of hi
brought him very familiarly acquai
of forming hasty judgments upon m
he was more accustomed. Certain
were decisions, both of his own at
afterwards of the Court in Banc,
sisted in forcing upon his brethren,
little credit to any of the parties
them.

The survey which has just been
eminent counsellor does not show
the highest places in his profession;
follow him into the House of Commo
off is very great indeed. There he
place at all; and feeling his nullity,
place to which he was with more vi
dragged by the power that office giv
ment over its lawyers. He could
hearing upon legal questions, and th
not with such felicity or force as
tention of the listener. He seld
more than to go through the refere
act of parliament to another; and
doing only a mechanical work, he
sentence as if he had been consul
like an oracle, and looked and spo
citing a section he was making a di
Mr. Perceval was shot, his nerves

tilent, sud[illegible] d him; and he
scended from the st[illegible] of Attorney-General
that of a Puisne Jud[illegible] in the Common Pleas.

Of his political pr[illegible]ces, which were quite
tolerant and quite s[illegible]ere, mention has already
ten made. To the cause of reform, in all shapes
d under what name soever, he was the bitter
emy. Towards all who i[illegible]d in free dis-
sion, whether of me[illegible]or of n[illegible] he was an
placable adversary. T[illegible] P[illegible] therefore, en-
ged a large share of his dislike; and under the
mbined influence of exasperation and alarm he
d so many *ex officio* informations in a few
nths, that no two attorney-generals ever in a
ng course of years loaded the files of the court
ith as many. It was his truly painful fortune
at, as most of these regarded the attacks on the
uke of York, he was compelled soon to withdraw
em all; while in several of the others he was
efeated; and partly by his excessive use of the
ower, partly by his failure in the exercise of it,
had the agony, to him most excruciating, of
ing signally defeated in his attempts to crush
e press, and of causing all the discussions of
e *ex officio* power which first brought it into
tred and then into disuse.

This is that successful barrister, that skilful
ecial pleader, that acute lawyer on common
nts, that dexterous and expert practitioner, (for

all this he was, as certainly as he was a lit
minded man)—this is he whom the men t
contemn Lord Erskine, and look down upon L
Mansfield, and would fain, if they durst, raise t
small voices against Sir Samuel Romilly, hold
as the pattern of an English lawyer.

IR WILLIAM GRANT.

contemplating the figure of the eminent
arrow-minded lawyer whom we have been
g, we turn to that of his far more cele-
contemporary, Sir William Grant, we shall
ith some marked resemblances, chiefly in
l opinions and exaggerated dread of change,
marked diversity in all the more important
es of character, whether intellectual or moral.
ave now named in some respects the most
ordinary individual of his time—one certainly
whom none ever better sustained the judicial
, though its functions were administered by
upon a somewhat contracted scale—one than
n none ever descended from the forum into the
e with more extraordinary powers of argu-
ation, or flourished there with greater renown.
ppened to this great judge to have been for
years at the bar with a very moderate share
actice; and although his parliamentary exer-
never tore him away from his profession, yet
ublic character rested entirely upon their suc-
until he was raised to the bench.
e genius of the man then shone forth with

extraordinary lustre. His knowledge of law, had hitherto been scanty and never enlarg practice, was now expanded to whatever dime might seem required for performing his high nor was he ever remarked as at all deficien in the branch most difficult to master witho rensic habits, the accomplishments of a case-la while his familiarity with the principles of prudence and his knowledge of their found were ample as his application of them was ea masterly. The Rolls Court, however, in thos was one of comparatively contracted busines although he gave the most entire satisfaction and in presiding at the Privy Council in Pri Plantation Appeals, a doubt was always ra the admirers of Lord Eldon, whether Sir W Grant could have as well answered the larg mands upon his judicial resources, had he pr in the Court of Chancery. That doubt altogether unfounded. He possessed the firs quality for dispatching business (the "*real* not "*affected dispatch*" of Lord Bacon), a of steadily fixing his attention upon the before him, and keeping it invariably di towards the successive arguments addressed t The certainty that not a word was lost depriv advocate of all excuse for repetition; wh respect which his judge inspired checked prolixity, and deterred him from raising de

ely to have them frowned down by a
as severe as it was patient. He had not
apprehend any interruption—that was
never practised in those days at the Rolls
ockpit; but while the judge sat passive
ved, it was plain that though his powers
nce had no limits, his powers of discrimi-
are ever active as his attention was ever
nd as it required an eminent hardihood to
e coin before so scrutinizing an eye, or
ght money to be weighed in such accurate
Sir William Grant's; so few men ventured
se a patience which yet all knew to be
ed. It may, indeed, be fairly doubted
the main force of muscular exertion, so
re clumsily applied by Sir John Leach in
court to effect the great object of his
the close compression of the debate—ever
d so well, or reduced the mass to as small
the delicate hydraulic press of his illus-
redecessor did, without giving the least
the advocate, or in any one instance
ng the course of calm, deliberate, and
d justice.

ourt in those days presented a spectacle
fforded true delight to every person of
dgment and pure taste. After a long and
aring—a hearing of all that could be urged
counsel of every party—unbroken by a

single word, and when the spectator of Sir W
Grant (for he was not heard) might suppo
his mind had been absent from a scene in w
took no apparent share, the debate was clos
advocate's hour was passed—the parties w
silent expectation of the event—the hall no
resounded with any voice—it seemed as if th
of the day, for the present, was over, and th
was to adjourn or to call for another cause.
The judge's time had now arrived, and a
artist was to fill the scene. The great Ma
began to pronounce his judgment, and ev
and every ear was at length fixed upon the
Forth came a strain of clear unbroken
disposing alike, in most luminous order, of
facts and of all the arguments in the
reducing into clear and simple arrangem
most entangled masses of broken and co
statement; weighing each matter, and disp
each in succession; settling one doubt by a
thetical remark; passing over another diffic
a reason only more decisive that it was com
and giving out the whole impression of th
in every material view, upon the judge's mi
argument enough to show why he so thou
to prove him right, and without so much re
as to make you forget that it was a judgm
were hearing, by overstepping the bound
distinguish a Judgment from a Speech.

[illegible] of Political Eloquence; not avoiding [illegible], but confining it to such reasoning as [illegible] him who has rather to explain the grounds [illegible] own conviction, than to labour at convincing [illegible]; not rejecting reference to authority, but [illegible] betokening a disposition to seek shelter [illegible] other men's names, for what he might fear [illegible] pronounce in his own person; not disdaining [illegible] ornaments, but those of the more chastened [illegible] that accord with the severe standard of a [illegible] oratory. This perfection of judicial elo[illegible] Sir William Grant attained, and its effect [illegible] all listeners was as certain and as powerful as [illegible] merits were incontestable and exalted.

In parliament he is unquestionably to be classed [illegible] speakers of the first order. His style was [illegible]culiar; it was that of the closest and severest [illegible]soning ever heard in any popular assembly: [illegible]soning which would have been reckoned close [illegible] the argumentation of the bar or the dialectics of [illegible] schools. It was, from the first to the last, [illegible]roughout, pure reason and the triumph of pure [illegible]son. All was sterling, all perfectly plain; there [illegible] no point in the diction, no illustration in the [illegible]pics, no ornament of fancy in the accompaniments. [illegible] language was choice—perfectly clear, abun[illegible]tly correct, quite concise, admirably suited to [illegible] matter which the words clothed and conveyed. [illegible] so far it was felicitous, no farther; nor did it

ever leave behind it any impression of the
but only of the things said; the words we
gotten, for they had never drawn off the at
for a moment from the things; those thing
alone remembered. No speaker was more
listened to; none so difficult to answer.
Mr. Fox, when he was hearing him with
to making that attempt, was irritated in
very unwonted to his sweet temper by th
versation of some near him, even to the
some crossness, and (after an exclamation)
said, "Do you think it so very pleasant a t
have to answer a speech like THAT?" T
memorable occasions on which this great r
was observed to be most injured by a reply
in that of Mr. Wilberforce quoting Cla
remarks on the conduct of the judges in th
Money Case, when Sir William Grant had
taken to defend his friend Lord Melville;
that of Lord Lansdowne (then Lord Henry
three years later, when the legality of the
Orders in Council was debated. Here, ho
the speech was made on one day, and the
able and triumphant as it was, followed
next.

It may safely be said that a long time will
before there shall arise such a light to illu
either the Senate or the Bench, as the
person whose rare excellence we have ju

to contemplate. That excellence was no
nited in its sphere; there was no imagina-
vehemence, no declamation, no wit; but
ce was the highest, and in that highest
e place was lofty. The understanding
s addressed by the understanding; the
that distinguish our nature were those
ch the oratory of Sir William Grant
its control. His sway over the rational
lectual portion of mankind was that of a
rerful reason, a more vigorous intellect
rs; a sway which no man had cause for
amed of admitting, because the victory
by superior force of argument; a sway
most dignified and exalted genius might
out stooping from its highest pinnacle,
some who might not deign to use inferior
rsuasion could find no objection whatever
e.

this purely intellectual picture there
be noted a discrepancy, a want of keep-
thing more than a shade. The com-
intellect, the close reasoner, who could
r other men's understanding by the supe-
of his own, was the slave of his own pre-
such an extent, that he could see only the
evolution in any reformation of our insti-
nd never conceived it possible that the
could be safe, or that anarchy could be

warded off, unless all things were maintained
the same footing on which they stood in
unenlightened, and inexperienced ages of the
The signal blunder, which Bacon long ago ex
of confounding the youth with the age of the
was never committed by any one more gla
than by this great reasoner. He it was wh
employed the well-known phrase of "the w
of our ancestors;" and the menaced innovat
stop which he applied it, was the proposal
Samuel Romilly to take the step of reform
imperceptibly small, of subjecting men's re
perty to the payment of all their debts. S
force of early prejudice; of prejudice suffe
warp the intellect while yet feeble and unin
and which owed its origin to the very error
embodied in its conclusions, the making the
of mankind in their ignorant and inexper
state the guide of their conduct at their
age, and appealing to those errors as the
of past times, when they were the unripe
imperfect intellectual culture!

MR. BURKE.

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contrast which Lo[illegible] ld p[illegible] to
ar school of lawyer , [illegible] p[illegible] ,
ent of its order, th[illegible]
s as representing t[illegible]
e we were conducted, by [illegible] of cont[illegible] (by
sociation, as it wer[illegible] of c[illegible]), to [illegible]
odel of a perfect jud[illegible] in Sir [illegible] Grant.
time that we now return to the group of
men collected round Lord North. His sup-
rs being chiefly lawyers, we were obliged to
e our incursion into Westminster Hall. When
turn to his opponents, we emerge from the
ed obscurity of the black letter precincts to
more cheerful, though not less contentious,
ns of political men; and the first figure which
cts the eye is the grand form of Edmund
e.

ow much soever men may differ as to the
lness of Mr. Burke's doctrines or the purity
s public conduct, there can be no hesitation
cording to him a station among the most ex-

traordinary persons that have ever appeared
is there now any diversity of opinion as
place which it is fit to assign him. He
writer of the first class, and excelled in
every kind of prose composition. Posses
most extensive knowledge, and of the most
description; acquainted alike with what di
classes of men knew, each in his own provinc
with much that hardly any one ever thou
learning; he could either bring his masses
formation to bear directly upon the subje
which they severally belonged—or he coul
himself of them generally to strengthen his
ties and enlarge his views—or he could tu
portion of them to account for the purp
illustrating his theme or enriching his
Hence, when he is handling any one matt
perceive that we are conversing with a reas
a teacher, to whom almost every other bra
knowledge is familiar. His views range o
the cognate subjects; his reasonings are
from principles applicable to other matters
as the one in hand, arguments pour in f
sides, as well as those which start up und
feet, the natural growth of the path he is
us over; while to throw light round our ste
either explore its darker places or serve
recreation, illustrations are fetched from a th
quarters; and an imagination marvellously

that conduce to it—ardour of purpose, some
rising into violence—vivid, but too luxuriant
—bold, frequently extravagant, conception
faculty of shedding over mere inanimate so
the light imparted by moral associations. He
dulges in bitter invective, mingled with poi
wit, but descending often to abuse and even
rility; he is apt moreover to carry an attac
far, as well as to strain the application of a
ciple; to slay the slain, or, dangerously fo
purpose, to mingle the reader's contempt wit

As in the various kinds of writing, so in th
ferent styles, he had an almost universal excel
one only being deficient—the plain and unad
Not but that he could, in unfolding a doctr
pursuing a narrative, write for a little wit
mirable simplicity and propriety; only he
not sustain this self-denial; his brilliant imagi
and well-stored memory soon broke throug
restraint. But in all other styles, passages w
end occur of the highest order—epigram—
—metaphor in profusion, chequered with m
dactic and sober diction. Nor are his purely
rative passages the finest even as figured w
he is best when the metaphor is subdued, mi
it were with plainer matter to flavour it, an
not by itself, and for its own sake, but giving
to a more useful instrument, made of more co
material; or at the most, flung off by the h

, like sparks from a working engine,
ks for mere display. Speaking of the
the 'Declaration of Right,' he calls
e whose penetrating style has engraved
ances and in our hearts the words and
t immortal law." * So, discoursing of
ns of natural magnitude by artifice and
rue artist should put a generous deceit
ators, and effect the noblest designs by
ls." † "When pleasure is over we
indifference, or rather we fall into a
lity, which is tinged with the agreeable
he former sensation." ‡—"Every age
manners, and its politics dependent on
the same attempts will not be made
onstitution fully formed and matured,
ed to destroy it in the cradle, or resist
during its infancy." §—"Faction will
es resound through the nation, as if the
in an uproar." ‖ In works of a serious
n the affairs of real life, as political
and orations, figurative style should
go beyond this. But strict and close
simile may be allowed, provided it

s on the French Revolution.
nd Beautiful, II. § 10.
3.
on the Causes of the Present Discontents.

be most sparingly used, and never deviate from
subject matter, so as to make that disappear a
ornament. "The judgment is for the greater
employed in throwing stumbling-blocks in the
of the imagination (says Mr. Burke), in disso
the scenes of its enchantment, and in tying us d
to the disagreeable yoke of our reason." * He
here at once expressed figuratively the prin
we are laying down, and illustrated our re
by the temperance of his metaphors, which, th
mixed, do not offend, because they come so
mere figurative language that they may be rega
like the last set of examples, rather as forms o
pression than tropes. "A great deal of the f
ture of ancient tyranny is worn to rags; the r
entirely out of fashion," †—a most apt illustr
of his important position, that we ought to
jealous of little encroachments, now the
sources of danger, as our ancestors were of
Money' and the 'Forest Laws.' "A specu
men (speaking of one constant and baneful
of grievances), to whom a state of order woul
come a sentence of obscurity, are nourished
dangerous magnitude by the heat of intestin
turbances; and it is no wonder that, by a
sinister piety, they cherish, in return, those

* Discourses on Taste.

† Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents.

for which are the parents of all their consequence."*
"We have not (he says of the English Church Establishment) relegated religion to obscure municipalities or rustic villages—No! we will have her exalt her mitred front in courts and parliaments." † But if these should seem so temperate as hardly to be separate figures, the celebrated comparison of the Queen of France, though going to the verge of chaste style, hardly passes it. "And truly, never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision. I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she just began to move in—glittering like the morning star, full of life and splendour and joy." ‡

All his writings, but especially his later ones, abound in examples of the abuse of this style, in which, unlike those we have been dwelling upon with unmixed admiration, the subject is lost sight of, and the figure usurps its place, almost as much as in Homer's longer similes, and is oftentimes pursued not merely with extravagance and violence, but into details that offend by their coarseness, as well as their forced connexion with the matter in question. The comparison of a noble adversary to the whale, in which the grantee of the crown is

* Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents.
† Reflections on the French Revolution. ‡ Ibid.

altogether forgotten, and the fish alone rem
one Republican ruler to a cannibal in his den,
he paints him as having actually devoured
and suffering from indigestion; of another,
tailer of dresses, in which character the n
constitutions is forgotten in that of milli
are instances too well known to be further
upon; and they were the produce not of th
dacity of youth," but of the last years of
It must, however, be confessed, that he was
times somewhat apt to betray what John
putes to Swift, a proneness to "revolve ide
which other minds shrink with disgust." A
he must be allowed to have often mistaken
and grossness for vigour. "The anodyne
of oblivion, thus drugged, is well calculated
serve a galling wakefulness, and to feed th
ulcer of a corroding memory. Thus to ad
the opiate potion of animosity, powdered
the ingredients of scorn and contempt,"
"They are not repelled, through a fastidio
cacy at the stench of their arrogance and p
tion, from a medicinal attention to their
blotches and running sores." †—"Those
which, when full of life and beauty, lay
arms, and were their joy and comfort, wh
and putrid became but the more loathsom

* Reflections on the French Revolution.

[illegible] '*—"The [illegible]tal powers, wasted [illegible] st [illegible], are [illegible]shed back upon t[illegible] s[illegible] and f[illegible] to gan[illegible]ene, to death; an[illegible] of what was but just [illegible]ow the delight of t[illegible] creation, there will be cast [illegible]ut in the face of the [illegible] a bloa[illegible] putrid, noisome [illegible]rcass, full of stench [illegible] p[illegible], offence, a hor[illegible]or, a lesson to the wor[illegible] '† S[illegible]e passages are [illegible]t fit to be cited, a[illegible] could not now be tolerated [illegible] either house of pa[illegible]liament, for the indecency of [illegible]ir allusions—as in the Regency debates, and the [illegible]ck upon lawyers on the Impeachment Continua[illegible]on. But the finest of his speeches, which we have [illegible]t quoted from, though it does not go so far from propriety, falls not much within its bounds. Of Mr. Dundas he says, "With six great chopping bastards (*Reports of Secret Committee*), each as lusty as an infant Hercules, this delicate creature blushes at the sight of his new bridegroom, assumes a virgin delicacy; or, to use a more fit, as well as a more poetical comparison, the person so squeamish, so timid, so trembling lest the winds of heaven should visit too roughly, is expanded to broad sunshine, exposed like the sow of imperial augury, lying in the mud with all the prodigies of her fertility about her, as evidence of her delicate amour."

* Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents.

† Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts.

It is another characteristic of this great wri that the unlimited abundance of his stores ma him profuse in their expenditure. Never cont with one view of a subject, or one manner of ha ling it, he for the most part lavishes his whole sources upon the discussion of each point. In c troversy this is emphatically the case. Inde nothing is more remarkable than the variety ways in which he makes his approaches to any p sition he would master. After reconnoitring with skill and boldness, if not with perfect ac racy, he manœuvres with infinite address, and rays a most imposing force of general princip mustered from all parts, and pointed, sometim violently enough, in one direction He now mo on with the composed air, the even, dignified p of the historian; and unfolds his facts in a nar tive so easy, and yet so correct, that you plai perceive he wanted only the dismissal of other p suits to have rivalled Livy or Hume. But this advance is interrupted, and he stops to disp his powers of description, when the boldness of design is only matched by the brilliancy of colouring. He then skirmishes for a space, puts in motion all the lighter arms of wit; sou times not unmingled with drollery, sometimes l dering upon farce. His main battery is n opened, and a tempest bursts forth, of every weap of attack—invective, abuse, irony, sarcasm, si

it its allegory, allusion, quotation, fable,
nanthesis. The heavy artillery of power-
nation and the conflict of close argument
wanting; but of this the garrison is not
ware; his noise is oftentimes mistaken for
ler of true eloquence; the number of his
nts distracts, and the variety of his mis-
oys the adversary; a panic spreads, and
s his point, as if he had actually made a
ble breach; nor is it discovered till after
te and confusion is over, that the citadel
untouched.

one of Mr. Burke's works that is of any
ee presents, though in different degrees,
tures to the view; from the most chaste
erate, his 'Thoughts on the Discontents,'
ast faultless and severe; his richer and
nate as well as vehement tracts upon re-
ary politics; his letters on the 'Regicide
nd 'Defence of his Pension.' His speeches
not at all from his pamphlets; these are
peeches, or those are spoken dissertations,
g as any one is over-studious of method and
in a book, or of ease and nature in an

rincipal defects here hinted at are a serious
on from merit of the highest order in both
' composition. But in his spoken elo-
the failure which it is known attended him

for a great part of his Parliamentary life is
be explained by the mere absence of what al
wanted to equal the greatest of orators. I
he was deficient in judgment; he regarded
degree of interest felt by his audience in the
which deeply occupied himself; and seldom
when he had said enough on those which
them as well as him. He was admirable in
ition; in truth, he delighted to give instr
both when speaking and conversing, and in
was unrivalled. *Quis in sententiis argut*
docendo eluserendoque subtilior? Mr. Fox
well avow, without a compliment, that
learnt more from him alone than from all
men and authors. But if any one thing is
by unvarying experience of popular assemb
is, that an excellent dissertation makes
speech. The speaker is not the only per
tively engaged while a great oration is pronou
the audience have their share; they must
cited, and for this purpose constantly app
as recognised persons of the drama. The
orator (if, as has been said of the didactic po
be not a contradiction in terms) has it all
self, the hearer is merely passive; and the
quence is, he soon ceases to be a listener, an
can, even to be a spectator. Mr. Burke wa
tially didactic, except when the violence of
vective carried him away, and then he offen

ute of th H C by
e occasion, and by to co
When he argued, it by uni d
d seizing upon anal oo te,
listinctions "too f or,
t, by a body of stat ts, l
sified with flower and fruit, ligh
pleasantry, but almost always in
one in these qualities as well as in its own
. He had little power of hard stringent
, as has been already remarked; and his
on was addressed to the head, as from the
roceeded, learned, fanciful, ingenious, but
sioned. Of him, as a combatant, we may
: Aristotle did of the old philosophers,
ompared them to unskilful boxers, who hit

arge of coarseness, or rather of vulgarity of lan-
, to the astonishment of all who knew him, and
pure idiomatic English, been made against Mr.
but only by persons unacquainted with both. To
nearly be applied the beautiful sketch of Crassus
ius—Quo, says he, nihil statuo fieri potuisse per-
rat summa gravitas, erat cum gravitate junctus,
et urbanitatis oratorius, non scurrilis lepos. La-
di accurata, et sine molestiâ diligens elegantia—
do mira explicatio; cum de jure civili, cum de
ono disputaretur argumentorum et similitudinum
t not the reader reject even the latter features,
inly of an advocate; at least let him first read
ham's Speech on the Law of Evidence, in the
ork's case.

round about, and not straight forward, and figh
little effect, though they may by chance some
deal a hard blow—Οἷον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις οἱ ἀγυμ
ποιοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι περιφερόμενοι τυ
πολλάκις καλὰς ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἐκεῖνοι ἀπ' ἐπιστη
(*Metaphys.*)*

Cicero has somewhere called Eloquence
loquens sapientia. This may be true of wr
but of spoken eloquence it is a defective defi
and will, at the best, only comprehend the De
strative (or Epideictic) kind, which is banishe
want of an audience, from all modern asse
of a secular description. Thus, though it
characterises Mr. Burke, yet the defects whi
have pointed out were fatal to his success.
cordingly the test of eloquence, which the
master has in so picturesque a manner given,
his own constant experience, here entirely fail
"Volo hoc oratori contingat, ut cum audito

* The Attic reader will be here reminded of th
Philippic, in which a very remarkable passage, and
too applicable to our subject seems to have been sug
by the passage in the text, and its great felicity both
comparison and of wit, should, with many other p
have made critics pause before they denied those q
to the chief of orators. Ὥσπερ δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι πυκτε
αὐτῷ πολέμειτε Φιλίππῳ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ὁ πληγεὶς
πληγὴν ἔχετα. κἂν ἐτύχωμεν πυταξή τις, ἐκείσε ἐλάν
προβάλλεσθαι δ', ἢ βλέπειν ἐναντίον, οὐτ' οἶδεν, οὐτ'
which he proceeds to illustrate by the conduct held
ing the Chersonese and Thermopylæ.

ɜe dicturum, locus in subselliis occupetur,
atur tribunal, gratiosi scribæ sint in dando
ndo locum, corona multiplex, judex erectus;
rgit is, qui dicturus sit, significetur a corona
ım, deinde crebræ assensiones, multæ ad-
ɜnes: risus, cum velit; cum velit, fletus; ut,
c procul videat, etiamsi quid agatur nesciat,
ere tamen, et in scena Roscium intelligat."
any years, that is, between the latter part of
merican war, and the speeches which he
neither many nor long, nor in a very usual
ɟular style, on the French Revolution, the
ɜverse of all this was to be seen and lamented,
n as Mr. Burke spoke. The spectator saw
ıs of Roscius being in action, but rather of
ıinent Civilian so closely allied to Mr. Burke,
whom we are hereafter to speak.* "Videt"
e same critic has, in another passage, almost
letter described it) "oscitantem judicem,
ıtem cum altero, nonnunquam etiam circu-
n, mittentem ad horas; quæsitorem, ut di-
, rogantem; † intelligit, oratorem in ea causa
ıdesse, qui possit animis judicum admovere
nem, tanquam fidibus manum."
t it may justly be said, with the second of

r. Lawrence.
his desire in the English senate is irregularly signi-
y the cries of "Question," there not being a propor
r to appeal to, as in the Roman courts.

Attic orators, that sense is always more im
than eloquence; and no one can doubt t
lightened men in all ages will hang over the
of Mr. Burke, and dwell with delight even
the speeches that failed to command the at
of those to whom they were addressed. N
by their rhetorical beauties that they inte
The extraordinary depth of his detached vie
penetrating sagacity which he occasionally
to the affairs of men and their motives, a
curious felicity of expression with which he
principles, and traces resemblances and re
are separately the gift of few, and in their
probably without any example. This m
admitted on all hands; it is possibly the
these observations which will obtain un
assent, as it is the last we have to offer
coming upon disputed ground, where the
contentions of politicians cross the more qui
of the critic.

Not content with the praise of his philo
acuteness, which all are ready to allow, t
temperate admirers of this great writer
ascribed to him a gift of genius approach
the power of divination, and have recogniz
as in possession of a judgment so acute
calm withal, that its decision might cla
authority of infallible decrees. His opinion
French affairs have been viewed as always

from gen l sly applied to
emergency; and t e b looked upon
forming a connected s of doctrines, by
h his own sentiments and ct were regu-
l, and from which af t may derive the
ns of practical wisd

consideration which at once occurs, as casting
icion upon the soundness, if not also upon the
rity, of these encomiums, is, that they never
dreamt of until the questions arose concerning
French Revolution; and yet, if well founded,
were due to the former principles and con-
of their object; for it is wholly inconsistent
their tenor to admit that the doctrines so
led were the rank and sudden growth of the
which the changes of 1789 had generated.
r title to so much admiration and to our im-
t confidence must depend upon their being the
ly matured fruit of a profound philosophy,
h had investigated and compared; pursuing
analogies of things, and tracing events to their
te origin in the principles of human nature.
it is certain that these reasoners (if reasoning
indeed be deemed their vocation) never dis-
red a single merit in Mr. Burke's opinions, or
hing to praise, or even to endure, in his con-
from his entrance into public life in 1765 to
eriod of that stormy confusion of all parties
all political attachments, which took place in

1791, a short time before he quitted it. T
therefore placed in a dilemma, from which it
puzzle subtler dialecticians to escape. Eithe
or their idol have changed; either they
received a new light, or he is a changelin
They are either converts to a faith which,
many years and during so many vicissitude
had, in their preaching and in their lives,
be damnable; or they are believers in a
lightly taken up by its author, and promulg
suit the wholly secular purposes of some pa
season.

We believe a very little examination of th
will suffice to show that the believers hav
more consistent than their oracle; and th
escape from the charge of fickleness at the
of the authority due to the faith last pro
from his altar. It would, indeed, be diff
select one leading principle or prevailing se
in Mr. Burke's latest writings, to which so
extremely adverse may not be found in his
we can hardly say his early works; exceptl
on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, to
with all the friends of Lord Rockingham,
from the beginning adverse; and in fa
which he found so very hesitating and luke
feeling among Mr. Fox's supporters, as
amounted to a difference, certainly offere
ducements to compromise the opinions of

nshing after the monuments of altered
we will not resort to his first works, in
h he terms Damien "a late unfortunate
looking only at his punishment, and dis-
his offence; neither shall we look into
s, exceeding, as they did, the bounds
ther men, even in the heat of debate,
to themselves, in speaking now of the
rate of the country, while labouring
nnitous visitation of Providence—now
nerally. But we may fairly take as the
' his opinions, best weighed and most
pronounced, the calmest of all his pro-
d the most fully considered,—given to
hen he had long passed the middle age
filled a high station, and been for years
parliamentary history.* Although, in
s of this kind, more depends upon the
e of a work than on particular passages,
temper of mind on certain points may
gathered from that, than from any ex-
d propositions, yet we have but to open
see that his *Thoughts* in 1770 were
nt from those which breathe through
of his Anti-Jacobin writings. And
Corinthian Capital of 1790—"I am no

ghts on the Causes of the Present Discont
l in 1770—when Mr. Burke was above

d" (says he in 1770) "to aris
e at least in which that word is
od. If it were not a bad habit to
supposed ruin of the constitutio
es to declare, that if it must
ather by far see it resolved into
han lost in that austere and insola
(*Works*, II. 246.) His comfort
the consideration, "that the g
are but too apt to fall into an
proper dignity, and run headlo
servitude." Next of "the Swi
"When popular discontents h
valent, it may well be affirmed
there has been generally some
the constitution or in the co
The people have no interest
they do wrong, it is their
But with the governing p
otherwise;" and he quote
"Pour la populace, ce n'e
quer qu'elle se soulève,
souffrir." (*Ib.* 224.)
"having nothing to do
them"—"I see no othe
of a decent attention
representatives, but th
the people itself,* w

nent and notorious act,—by some capital
n—that these representatives are going to
the fences of the law, and to introduce
ary power. This interposition is a most
t remedy. But if it be a legal remedy,
ded on some occasion to be used; to be
only when it is evident that nothing else
the constitution to its true principles. It
Parliament alone that the remedy for
tary disorders can be completed; hardly
n it begin there. Until a confidence in
nt is re-established, the people ought to
l to a more strict and detailed attention
nduct of their representatives. Standards
ng more systematically upon their conduct
be settled in the meetings of counties and
ons. Frequent and correct lists of the
all important questions ought to be pro-
Ib. 324.) The reasons which called for
nterposition, and made him preach it at
f unprecedented popular excitement, are
be "the immense revenue, enormous
mighty establishments;" and he requires
e of Commons "to bear some stamp of
l disposition of the people at large;"
hat "it would be a more natural and
evil, that the House should be infected
y epidemical frenzy of the people, as this
dicate some consanguinity, some sympathy

of nature with their constituents, than th
should in all cases be wholly untouched
opinions and feelings of the people out of
Now let us step aside for a moment to
that the "*immense revenue*" was under 10 m
the "*enormous debt*," 130; and the "*mighty*
blishments" cost about 6 millions a-year.
statesman who, on this account, recom
popular interference in 1770, lived to
revenue 24 millions; the debt, 350; the est
ment, 30; and the ruling principle of his
days was the all-sufficiency of Parliament
Crown, and the fatal consequence of accord
the people the slightest share of direct po
the state.

His theoretical view of the constitution in
days was as different from the high mona
tone of his latter writings. The King wa
"the representative of the people,"—"so
adds) "are the Lords; so are the Judges
are all trustees for the people, as well as the
mons, because no power is given for the sol
of the holder; and although government ce
is an institution of divine authority, yet its
and the persons who administer it, all or
from the people." And then comes that im
passage so often cited, and which ought
blazoned in letters of fire over the porch
Commons' House; illustrating the doctrine

[illegible] with, th [illegible] a control [illegible] the people, and not [illegible] people; and that [illegible] virtue, spirit, and [illegible] a House of Com- [illegible] consist in its bein [illegible] image of the [illegible] of the nation." (* It may be [illegible] to add, that so [illegible] ued with [illegible] principles of a f [illegible] tion must [illegible] have regarded the [illegible] rbon rulers with [illegible] dislike, while he [illegible] in the English [illegible] the natural ally of Liberty, wheresoever she was struggling with her chains. Accordingly, in the same [illegible] work, he exclaims, "Such was the conquest of Corsica, by the proclaimed enemies of the freedom of mankind, in defi-

* "A vigilant and jealous eye over executory and judicial [illegible]; an anxious care of public money; an openness, approaching towards facility, to public complaint; these [illegible] to be the true characteristics of a House of Commons. [illegible] an addressing House of Commons and a petitioning [illegible]; a House of Commons full of confidence, when the [illegible] is plunged in despair; in the utmost harmony with [illegible] whom the people regard with the utmost abhor- [illegible]; who vote thanks, when the public opinion calls upon [illegible] for impeachments; who are eager to grant, when the [illegible] voice demands account; who in all disputes between [illegible] people and the administration pronounce against the [illegible]; who punish their disorders, but refuse even to [illegible] into the provocations to them; this is an unnatural, [illegible] state of things in the constitution. Such an [illegible] may be a great, wise, awful senate; but it is not [illegible] popular purpose a House of Commons."—(*Ib.* 289.)

ance of those who were formerly its p
defenders." (*Ibid.* 272.)

Although it cannot be denied that a con
portion of the deference which Mr. Burk
and more celebrated opinions are entitled
mand is thus taken away, and, as it were,
by the conflicting authority of his earlier sen
his disciples may, nevertheless, be willing
his claims to a reverent, if not an implicit
ance upon the last, as the maturest effort
genius. Now, it appears evident that, in
traordinary person, the usual progress of th
ties in growth and decline was in some
reversed; his fancy became more vivid,—it
as it were, brighter before its extinction
age, which had only increased that light,
the power of profiting from it, by weaken
judgment as the imagination gained luxuria
strength. Thus, his old age resembled that
men in one particular only; he was more
by fears, and more easily became the dupe
posture as well as alarm.

It is quite vain now to deny that the un
able decision which those feelings led him
of the French Revolution was, in the main
rect and exaggerated. That he was right
pecting much confusion and mischief from
sions of a whole nation let loose, and in
only by the various mobs of its capital, liter

litical, in rooms, the
atres, and the streets, ot; and his
prehensions were cert y d by the body
his party. But beyo t very s ty and not
ry difficult portion of p it would be
d to show any signal i f t fulfilment.
kept in lamenting t of the times
terror, and in admitti t to f a large
duction from the esti e of t ts of the
volution, it would be no er to point
t a single opinion of his w any rational and
derate man of the present day will avow. Those
o claim for Mr. Burke's doctrines in 1790 the
ise of a sagacity and foresight hardly human,
uld do well to recollect his speech on the Army
timates of that year. It is published by himself,
rrected,* and its drift is to show the uselessness
a large force, because "France must now be
nsidered as expunged out of the system of Eu-
pe;" it expresses much doubt if she can ever re-
me her station "as a leading power;" anticipates
e language of the rising generation—*Gallos quo-
in bellis floruisse audivimus;* and decides that,
ll events, her restoration to anything like a sub-
tive existence must, under a republic, be the
k of much time. Scarce two years elapsed be-
e this same France, without any change whatever
her situation, except the increase of the anarchy

* Works, vol. v. p. 1.

that had expunged her from the map, declar
on Austria, and in a few months more carri
conquests so much farther than Louis XI
done, when the firmness and judgment o
William opposed him, that Mr. Burke now
universal league was necessary to avert her u
dominion, and that it was a question wheth
would suffer any one throne to stand in E
The same eulogists of Mr. Burke's sagacity
also do well to recollect those yearly predic
the complete internal ruin which for so long
riod alternated with alarms at the foreign a
disement of the Republic; they all origin
his famous work—though it contains some p
cies too extravagant to be borrowed by hi
servile imitators. Thus he contends that th
lation of France is irreparably diminished
Revolution, and actually adopts a calculatio
makes the distress of Paris require above tw
lions sterling for its yearly relief; a sum su
to pay each family above seventeen pounds
defray its whole expenditure in that countr

But on these grounds a further allowance
and a new deduction introduced, from the su
of the deference paid to his authority. It
that the sagacity and penetration which we
to reverence were never at fault, unless o
where strong feelings interfered. The pro
must be admitted, and without any quali

not to an
the whole debt of enee a et.
ver man's opinion rood as
oth are equally un
s of every kind. r it be for-
on another subject as well as the French
Mr. Burke's prejudices warped his judg-
en strongly interested he was apt to re-
in false colours and distorted shape.
f society for many years hung upon
Impeachment; during that period he
as much vituperation upon the East
his country as he afterwards did on the
and he was not more ready to quarrel
Fox on a difference of opinion about
n he had been a year before to attack
e with every weapon of personal and
abuse, upon a slighter difference about
of the Impeachment. Nay, after the
estion might have been supposed for-
nerged in the more recent controversy
affairs, he deliberately enumerates among
f alarm at French principles, the pre-
the East India interest in England;
bobs" with the Diplomatic Body all
e, as naturally and incurably Jacobin;
his country loudly and solemnly against
self to be overthrown by a "Bengal

The like infirmity of a judgment, weakene doubt, by his temper, pursued him in hi years through the whole details of the q that excited him most, when France was the topic. He is blinded to the impressions on h senses, not by the 'light shining inward,' the heat of his passions. He sees not what al men behold, but what he wishes to see, or w prejudices and fantasies suggest; and havin pronounced a dogma, the most astounding e dictions that events can give him assail hi and even his senses, in vain. Early in 1 pronounced France extinguished, as regard external force; but at the end of 1793, wh second attempt to invade her had ended in th discomfiture of the assailants, when she was in the successes of an offensive war, and had her whole people to threaten the liberties of he still sees in her situation nothing but "c ruin, without the chance of resurrection," reckons that, when she recovers her nomina ence by a restoration of the monarchy, "it as much as all her neighbours can do, by a guarantee, to keep her upon her basis."* (VII. 185.) That he should confound all as well as things, in his extravagant spec surprises less than such delusions as this.

* She had at that time 750,000 men under arms, calling out the second conscription.

astonished at finding him repeatedly class the
me and chivalrous La Fayette with the mon-
Robespierre; but when we find him pursuing
eory, that all Atheists are Jacobins, so far as
arge Hume with being a leveller, and pressing
nverse of the proposition so far as to insinuate
Priestley was an Atheist, we pause incredu-
ver the sad devastation which a disordered
can make in the finest understanding. (VII.

st the warlike policy which he recommended
st France was more consistent than the course
ed by the ministry, may be admitted. The
and ruinous plan of leaving the enemy to con-
all Europe, while we wasted our blood and
easure in taking Sugar Islands, to increase the
an slave-trade, and mow down whole armies
stilence, has been oftentimes painted in strong
rs, never stronger than the truth; and our
only were successful when this wretched sys-
as abandoned. But if Mr. Burke faintly and
y arraigned this plan of operations, it was on
ds so purely fanciful, and he dashed the truth
such a mixture of manifest error, that he un-
ably both prevented his counsels from being
ted, and subjected his own policy to imputa-
full as serious as those he brought against the
nment. He highly approved of the Emigra-
because France was no longer in, but out of,

France; he insisted on an invasion, for the av
purpose of restoring monarchy and punishin
enemies; he required the advanced guard o
attacking army to be composed of the ban
French gentlemen, emigrants, and to be acco
nied by the exiled priests; and, in order to
the movement more popular, they were to be
ceded by the proclamation of solemn leagues a
the allies, never to treat with a republic that
slain its king, and formal announcements that
entered the country to punish as well as to re

Mr. Burke lived not to see the power of th
volutionary government extend itself resistl
the direction he had pronounced impossibl
prove harmless in the only way he deemed f
midable. The downfal of that governmen
lived not to see thrice accomplished, without
of his plans being followed. Yet let us not
his opinions upon the restoration of his fav
dynasty, had he survived its exile. With a
bright genius and solid learning, his venerable
would have been found at the head, or rathe
in advance, of the most universally and most
contemned faction in the world. The "I
would have owned him for their leader, and
have admitted that he went beyond them i
uncompromising consistency of his extrav
dogmas. He who had deemed the kind of pu
ments meted that should be out, the most impo

against to settle previously, and had thought it necessary, in many a long and laboured page, to discuss this when the prospects of the Bourbons were desperate (VII. 167), and to guard them by all arguments against listening to plans of amnesty, would have objected vehemently to every one act of the restored government; regarded the *charter* as an act of abdication; the security of property as robbery and sacrilege; the impunity of the Jacobins, mistaking the monarch an accessary after the fact to his brother's murder; and what all men of sound minds regarded as a state of great improvement, blessing the country with much happiness, freeing it from many abuses, and giving it precious hopes of liberty, he would have pronounced the height of misery and degradation. If such had not proved to be his views, living in our times, he must have changed all the opinions which he professed up to the hour of his death.

Upon one subject alone could he have been found ranged with the Liberal party of the present day; he always, from a very early period, and before sound principles were disseminated on questions of political economy, held the most enlightened opinions on all subjects of mercantile policy; and these sound opinions he retained to the last: here his mind seemed warped by no bias, and his profound understanding and habits of observation kept him right. His works abound with just and original

reflections upon these matters, and they f
striking contrast to the narrow views which,
latter years, he was prone to take of all that te
the interests and the improvement of ma
For his whole habits of thinking seemed pet
by the dread of change; and he never ref
except in the single case of the Irish Cat
that the surest way of bringing about a viole
volution is to resist a peaceful reform.

As he dreaded all plans of amendment
sought to work by perceivable agency and wi
moderate compass of time, so he distrusted a
patronised them—asserting their conduct to b
and visionary enthusiasm at the best, but gen
imputing their zeal to some sinister motives o
sonal interest: most unjustly—most unphilo
cally—most unthinkingly. It is the natural
dency of men connected with the upper ra
society, and separated from the mass of the
munity, to undervalue things which only aff
rights or the interests of the people. Again
leaning to which he had yielded, it becomes
to struggle, and their honest devotion to the
of peaceable improvement, their virtuous
bestowed in advancing the dignity and happi
their fellow-creatures, their perils and their
encountered in defence of the rights of opp
men, are the most glorious titles to the ven
of the good and the wise; but they are titles

he would [illegible] , or covered with
the tide of his indign[illegible] whom Providence
had endowed with a[illegible] and originally
imbued with such [illegible] e of li[illegible] y, that he seemed
especially raised up [illegible] for instructing
and mending his kin[illegible].

Of Mr. Burke's g[illegible] as a writer and an orator,
we have now spoke[illegible] t, though not needless
length; and it wo[illegible] t have been necessary
to dwell longer on t[illegible] ject, but for a sketch
of a very different kind, drawn by another hand,
from which a more accurate resemblance might
have been expected. That Mr. Burke, with extraordinary powers of mind, cultivated to a wonderful degree, was a person of eccentric nature; that he was one mixture of incongruous extremes; that his opinions were always found to be on the outermost verge of those which could be held upon any question; that he was wholly wild and impracticable in his views; that he knew not what moderation or modification was in any doctrine which he advanced; but was utterly extravagant in whatever judgment he formed, and whatever sentiment he expressed;—such was the representation to which we have alluded, and which, considering the distinguished quarter it proceeded from,* seems to justify some further remark; the rather, b[illegible] we have already admitted the faults to exist in [illegible]

* Lord Melbourne in the House of Lords, July, 1838

portion of his opinions, which are
to be affirmed respecting the wh
being followers of Mr. Burke's polit
or indiscriminate admirers of his co
man—the capacity in which he th
especially during the few latter an
of his illustrious, chequered, and c
we may yet affirm that, with the e
writings upon the French Revolut
tion itself to be qualified and restri
be difficult to find any statesman of
opinions were more habitually mark
tion; by a constant regard to the r
experience, as well as the dictates
reason; by a fixed determination alw
tical, at the time he was giving sco
extensive general views; by a cautio
abstinence from all extremes, and e
those towards which the general co
political principles tending, he felt th
sity for being on his guard against th

This was the distinguishing feature
through life. A brilliant fancy and
did not more characterise his disco
moderation did his counsels. Imagi
more inspire or deep reflection in
quence, than a wise spirit of compro
theory and practice—between all
tremes—governed his choice of m

by the extremes of both parties, but more
ally of his own, greatly complained of: they
not always comprehend it, and they could
relish it, because their own understanding
formation reached it not; and the selfish
of their meaner nature were thwarted by it.
speeches, by the length at which he dwelt
ics, and the vehemence of his expressions, he
deficient in judgment. But in the forma-
his opinions no such defect could be per-
he well and warily propounded all practical
ations; and although he viewed many sub-
different lights at the earlier and the later
of his time, and is thus often quoted for
ite purposes by reasoners on different sides of
reat political controversy, he himself never
ed in wild or thoughtless extremes. He
ht this spirit of moderation into public affairs
him; and, if we except the very end of his
hen he had ceased to live much in public, it
by him to the last. "I pitched my Whig-
low," said he, "that I might keep by it." With
n followers his influence was supreme; and
such men as Dr. Lawrence, Mr. W. Elliott,
he late Lord Minto, to say nothing of the
s, the Freres, and the Cannings, no man of
derate and extreme opinions ever could have
ed this sway. Mr. Wilberforce compares
deference for him with the treatment of Ahi-

tophel: "It was as if one meant to inquire
oracle of the Lord."* Hear again the wo
one who knew him well, for he had studie
much, and had been engaged in strenuous
versy against him. Speaking of the effec
duced by his strong opinions respecting
affairs, Sir James Mackintosh as justly
foundly observed to Mr. Horner—"So great
effect of a single inconsistency with the
course of a long and wise political life, th
greatest philosopher in practice whom the
ever saw, passes with the superficial vulgar fo
brained enthusiast." Sir James Mackintosh
dreamt that all the temperate wisdom of the o
upon American affairs—all the profound an
tical discretion which breathes over each
the discussion upon the "Present Discont
all the truly enlarged principles of retrenc
but tempered with the soundest and most
views of each proposition's bearing upon the
frame of our complicated government, whic
made the celebrated speech upon "Econ
Reform" the manual of every moderate an
stitutional reformer—all the careful reg
facts, as well as abstract principles, the nice
ing of opposite arguments, the acute percep
practical consequences, which presided o
whole opinions upon commercial policy, esp

* Life of Wilberforce, vol. ii. p. 211.

questions connected with Scarcity and the Laws—all the mingled firmness, humanity, ness of practical judgment, and enlargement culative views, which governed his opinions the execution of the Criminal Law—all the of reform and toleration, tempered with cau- circumspection of surrounding connexions rovident foresight of possible consequences, marked and moved his wise and liberal upon the affairs of the Irish hierarchy—all would have been forgotten in the perusal few violent invectives or exaggerated senti- called forth by the horrors of the French lution; which, as his unrivalled sagacity had en them, when the rest of his party, intoxi- with the victory over despotism, could not look towards any consequences at all; so he ery unnaturally regarded as the end and con- ation of that mighty event,—mistaking the lence by which the tempest and the flood to clear the stream, for the perennial defile- of its waters.

r, though we have shown the repugnance of rlier to his later opinions, must it after all be own to the account of a heated imagination an unsound judgment, that even upon the ch Revolution he betrayed so much violence language, and carried his opinions to a length h all men now deem extravagant; or that he

at one time was so misled by
the hour as to dread the effacing
the map of Europe. We are
and easy chair of him who judge
and appeals to things as certai
the veil of futurity concealed fro
before. Every one must allow
which shook France to her c
gaze of mankind was an event of
tude; and that he who was
opinion upon its import, and to
quences, and to shape his cou
duct to be pursued regarding
circumstances wholly new, and
way without any light whateve
rience of past times. Mr. Bur
mischief in it, view it on what
whatever point he would; and he
sequences as pregnant with d
countries, as well as to the one w
waste or about to be devastated
That for a time he saw right,
affect to deny. When all else in
foresee nothing but good to Fran
improvement so suddenly wrou
tions, he plainly told them that
pleased with viewing as the la
fire-work was the glare of a
which would cover France and

of all their institutions, and fill the air with
rian darkness, through the confusion of
—neither the useful light of day nor the
ng prospect of heaven could be descried.
addleness of the improvement which de-
l all else, to his sagacious and far-sighted
ded doubtless by the reflecting glass of past
nce and strengthened by the wisdom of
hys in which it had been steeped, presented
ny cause of distrust, and foreboding, and
It was *because* his habit of mind was cau-
tful calculating,—not easily led away by a
tide, not apt to run into extremes, given to
reflection, and fond of correcting, by prac-
hews and by the lessons of actual observation,
ausible suggestions of theory,—that he be-
with doubt and apprehension, Governments
down and set up in a day—Constitutions,
ew work of centuries, taken to pieces and re-
acted like an eight-day clock. He is not
st materials, were he to retort the charge of
running into extremes and knowing not
to stop, upon those who were instantly fas-
d with the work of 1789, and could not look
rd to the consequences of letting loose four-
renty millions of people from the control
which ages of submission to arbitrary rule
ntal disuse of civil rights had kept them.
are assuredly without the means of demon

strating *his* want of reflection and foresigh
nearly the whole period during which he
the commencement of the Revolution—fo
those seven years—all his predictions,
momentary expression, had been more t
filled: anarchy and bloodshed had borne
France; conquest and convulsion had
Europe; and even when he closed his ey
earthly prospects, he left this portentous
"with fear of change perplexing monarchs
providence of mortals is not often able to p
so far as this into futurity. Nor can h
mind was filled with such well-grounded a
justly impeached of violence, and held u
soundly given to extremes of opinion, if he
an invincible repugnance to sudden revolu
the system of policy by which nations are g
and an earnest desire to see the restoratio
old state of things in France, as the harb
repose for the rest of the world.

That Mr. Burke did, however, err,
widely, in the estimate which he formed
merits of a Restored Government, no one
doubt. His mistake was in comparing
régime with the anarchy of the Revolu
which not only the monarchy of France,
despotism of Turkey was preferable. H
could get rid of the belief that bec
change had been effected with a violence wh

d, and inevitably produced, the consequences
een by himself, and by him alone, therefore
ree so planted must for ever prove incapable
earing good fruit. He forgot that after the
nce, in its nature temporary, should subside, it
t be both quite impossible to restore the old
archy, and very possible to form a new and
rly and profitable government upon the ruins
e Republic. Above all, he had seen so much
nt mischief wrought to France during the con-
ive struggle which was not over before his
h, that he could not persuade himself of any
ible good arising to her from the mighty change
had undergone. All this we now see clearly
gh; having survived Mr. Burke nearly fifty
s, and witnessed events which the hardiest dealers
ophecies assuredly could never have ventured
retell. But we who were so blind to the early
equences of the Revolution, and who really did
r ourselves to be carried away by extreme opi-
s, deaf to all Mr. Burke's warnings; we surely
little right to charge him with blind violence,
flecting devotion to his fancy, and a disposition
n into extremes. At one time they who op-
l his views were by many, perhaps by the ma-
r of men, accused of this propensity. After
events in France had begun to affright the
le of this country, when Mr. Burke's opinions
found to have been well grounded, the friends

of liberty would not give up their fond belief
all must soon come right. At that time we
Dean Milner writing to Mr. Wilberforce
Cambridge, that "Mr. Fox's old friends the
gave him up, and most of them said he was m

In the imperfect estimate of this great
character and genius which we have now
cluded, let it not be thought that we have
any very large exceptions to the praise unque
ably his due. We have only abated claims
ferred by his unheeding worshippers to more
mortal endowments—worshippers who with the
fanatical spirit adore their idol the more,
proves the more unsafe guide; and who
valued his peculiarities when he happened to
the great question that filled the latter years
life. Enough will remain to command our
ration, after it shall be admitted that he who
sessed the finest fancy and the rarest know

* *Life of Wilberforce*, ii. p. 3.—This was written
in the year 1793, when most men thought Mr. Burk
moderate and right. "There is scarce one of his (Mr
old friends here at Cambridge who is not disposed to
him up, and most say he is mad. I think of him mo
always did; I still doubt whether he has bad principl
I think it pretty plain he has none; and I suppose
ready for whatever turns up." See, too, Lord Wel
justly celebrated speech, two years later, on French
It is re-published in Mr. Martin's edition of that
statesman's Despatches.

did not equally excel other men in retaining his sound and calm judgment at a season of peculiar emergency; enough to excite our wonder at the degree in which he was gifted with most parts of genius, though our credulity be not staggered by the assertion of a miraculous union of them all. We have been contemplating a great marvel certainly, not gazing on a supernatural sight; and we retire from it with the belief, that if acuteness, learning, imagination, so unmeasured, were never before combined, yet have there been occasionally witnessed in eminent men greater powers of close reasoning and fervid declamation, oftentimes a more correct taste, and, on the question to which his mind was last and most earnestly applied, a safer judgment.

MR. FOX.

The glory of Mr. Burke's career certainly
American war, during which he led the Op
in the House of Commons; until, having
successor more renowned than himself, he
ceeded rather than superseded in the com
that victorious band of the champions of
This disciple, as he was proud to acknowled
self, was Charles James Fox, one of the
statesmen, and if not the greatest orator,
the most accomplished debater, that ever
upon the theatre of public affairs in any a
world. To the profuse, the various learni
master; to his exuberant fancy, to his prof
mature philosophy, he had no pretensio
knowledge was confined to the ordinary acc
ments of an English education—intimate
ance with the classics; the exquisite taste w
familiarity bestows; and a sufficient know
history. These stores he afterwards increas
than diminished; for he continued to d
classical reading; and added a minute and

ıdge of modern languages, with a deep and
te study of our own history and the history
er modern states; insomuch that it may be
ned if any politician in any age ever knew
roughly the various interests and the exact
n of all the countries with which his own had
gs to conduct or relations to maintain. Be-
hese solid foundations of oratory and ample
of political information his range did not
. Of natural science, of metaphysical philo-
of political economy, he had not even the
ents; and he was apt to treat those matters
ne neglect, if not the contempt, which igno-
an rather account for than excuse. He had
far too early into public life to be well
ed in a statesman's philosophy; like his great
and indeed like most aristocratic politicians,
ere described as "rocked and dandled into
ors" by one,* himself exempt from this de-
education; and his becoming a warm par-
the same early age, also laid the foundation
ther defect, the making party principle the
ule of conduct, and viewing every truth of
al science through this distorting and dis-
ng medium.

if such were the defects of his education, the
powers of his nature often overcame them,
threw them into the shade. A preternatu-

* Mr. Burke.

ral quickness of apprehension, which e
to see at a glance what cost other minds
of an investigation, made all attainment
dinary kind so easy, that it perhaps disin
to those which not even his acuteness a
of mind could master without the pai
But he was sure as well as quick; and
heat of passion, or the prejudice of par
tain little peculiarities of a personal kin
mental idiosyncrasies in which he ind
which produced capricious fancies or
left his faculties unclouded and unstunted
judgment was more sound or could mor
trusted. Then his feelings were warm a
his temper was sweet though vehement
of all the Fox family, his nature was
open, manly; above everything like di
or duplicity; governed by the impulses o
and benevolent soul. This virtue, so nu
all intellectual graces, yet bestowed its a
influence upon the faculties of his und
and gave them a reach of enlargement
meaner natures are ever strangers. I
more certain that such a mind as his
friendly to religious toleration, eager for
tion of civil liberty, the uncompromising
craft and cruelty in all their forms,—
corruption of the Treasury and the seve
penal code, up to the oppression of our

nies and tl ri ,—than that it
ld be enlarged and st d, made power-
n its grasp and consis : ts purpose, by the
admirable and ami e ities which bent
ways towards the rigl t it.
he great intellectual ts of Mr. Fox, the ro-
structure of his facul s, naturally governed
ratory, made him si larly affect argument,
led him to a close grappling with every sub-
despising all flights of imagination, and shun-
everything collateral or discursive. This turn
ind, too, made him always careless of orna-
t, often negligent of accurate diction. There
r was a greater mistake, as has already been
rked.* than the fancying a close resemblance
een his eloquence and that of Demosthenes;
ough an excellent judge (Sir James Mackintosh)
into it, when he pronounced him "the most
osthenean speaker since Demosthenes." That
sembled his immortal predecessor in despising
eless ornament, and all declamation for decla-
ion's sake, is true enough; but it applies to
y good speaker as well as to those two signal
ments of ancient and modern rhetoric. That
semnbled him in keeping more close to the sub-
in hand, than many good and even great
kers have often done, may also be affirmed;
this is far too vague and remote a likeness to

* Lord Chatham.

justify the proposition in question; and it is
difference in degree, and not a specific dist
between him and others. That his eloquen
fervid, rapid, copious, carrying along with
minds of the audience, not suffering them to
upon the speaker or the speech, but engrossin
whole attention, and keeping it fixed on the
tion, is equally certain; and is the only real
blance which the comparison affords. But th
points of difference are as numerous as th
important, and they strike indeed upon th
cursory glance. The one was full of repe
recurring again and again to the same topic
to the same view of it, till he had made his
sion complete; the other never came back
ground which he had utterly wasted and w
up by the tide of fire he had rolled over it
one dwelt at length, and with many words,
topics; the other performed the whole at
sometimes with a word, always with the
number of words possible. The one frequen
digressive, even narrative and copious in
tion; in the other no deviation from his cou
ever to be perceived; no disporting on the
of his way, more than any lingering upon
carried rapidly forward, and without swerv
the right or to the left, like the engine
along a railway, and like them driving ev
out of sight that obstructed his resistless

[illegible] the [illegible] t, was
remarkable. It is [illegible] any one
d have thought of l [illegible] Fox to the
n of whom the great [illegible] n critic, comparing
with Cicero, has said so v [illegible] and so judiciously
illo plus curæ, in hoc plus naturæ. The
was, of all speakers, the one who most care-
prepared each sentence; showing himself as
us in the collocation of his words as in the
ion. His composition, accordingly, is a mo-
the most artificial workmanship; yet of an
happy in its results that itself is wholly con-
l. The Englishman was negligent, careless,
ly beyond most speakers; even his most bril-
passages were the inspirations of the moment;
e frequently spoke for half an hour at a time,
imes delivered whole speeches, without being
for five minutes, or, excepting in a few sound
nsible remarks which were interspersed, re-
ng the hearer with a single redeeming passage.
d, to the last, he never possessed, unless when
animated, any great fluency; and probably
ed it, as he well might, if he only regarded its
in making men neglect more essential qua-
—when the curse of being *fluent speakers,*
thing else, has fallen on them and on their
ce. Nevertheless, that fluency—the being
ily to express his thoughts in correct words
essential to a speaker as drawing to a painter.

we cannot doubt, any more than we can refuse
assent to the proposition, that though merely
ing pleasure is no part of an orator's duty,
he has no vocation to give his audience
n:—which any one must feel who listens to a
eaker delivering himself with difficulty and h
ation.

The practice of composition seems never to ha
een familiar to Mr. Fox. His speeches sh
this; perhaps his writings still more; because the
the animation of the momentary excitement wh
often carried him on in speaking had little or
play. One of his worst speeches, if not his wo
is that upon Francis, Duke of Bedford; and it
known to be almost the only one he had ever m
prepared, and the only one he ever corrected
the press. His 'History,' too, shows the s
want of expertness in composition. The sty
pure and correct, but cold and lifeless: it is
somewhat abrupt and discontinuous; so little
flow naturally or with ease. Yet, when writing le
without any effort, no one expressed himself
happily, or with more graceful facility: and in
versation, of which he only partook when the
was small and intimate, he was a model of ex
cellence, whether solid or gay, plain or refine
of information, witty and playful betimes, in
natured for a moment;—above all, never
an argument, as so many eminent men are

but, on the contrary, courting discussion on
ubjects, perhaps without much regard to their
ive importance; as if reasoning were his natu-
lement, in which his great faculties moved the
freely. An admirable judge, but himself
ted to reasoning upon general principles, the
Mr. Dumont, used to express his surprise at
love of minute discussion, of argumentation
trifling subjects, which this great man often
ed. But the cause was clea ; argument he
have; and as his studies, except upon his-
al and classical points, had been extremely
ned, when matters of a political or critical
were not on the carpet, he took whatever
ary matter came uppermost, and made it the
ct of discussion. To this circumstance may
dded his playful good-nature, which partook,
Ir. Gibbon observed, of the simplicity of a
l; making him little fastidious and easily in-
ted and amused.

aving premised all these qualifications, it must
be added, that Mr. Fox's eloquence was of a
which, to comprehend, you must have heard
elf. When he got fairly into his subject, was
tily warmed with it, he poured forth words
periods of fire that smote you, and deprived
of all power to reflect and rescue yourself,
he went on to seize the faculties of the
er, and carry them captive along with him

whithersoever he might please to rush.
ridiculous to doubt that he was a far clos
soner, a much more argumentative speaker
Demosthenes; as much more so as Demo
would perhaps have been than Fox had be
in our times, and had to address an English
of Commons. For it is the kindred mistake o
who fancy that the two were like each oth
imagine that the Grecian's orations are long
of ratiocination, like Sir William Grant's
ments, or Euclid's demonstrations. They ar
to the point; they are full of impressive all
they abound in expositions of the adversary
consistency; they are loaded with bitter inve
they never lose sight of the subject; and
never quit hold of the hearer, by the strikin
peals they make to his strongest feelings a
favourite recollections: to the heart, or
quick and immediate sense of inconsistency
are always addressed, and find their way
by the shortest and surest road; but to the
to the calm and sober judgment, as pe
argumentation, they assuredly are not ad
But Mr. Fox, as he went along, and expo
sundity, and made inconsistent arguments
and laid bare shuffling or hypocrisy, and sh
down upon meanness, or upon cruelty, or
oppression, a pitiless storm of the most
invective, was ever forging also the lon

l, and massive chain of pure demonstra-

ον· ἄκμοθετον μεγαν ἄκμονα, κάντε δε δεσμους
ους, ἀλυτους, ὅθι αμπεδον ἔνθι μενοιεν.
(*Od.* Θ.)

was no weapon of argument which this
tor more happily or more frequently
han wit,—the wit which exposes to ridi-
absurdity or inconsistency of an adverse
. It has been said of him, we believe by
e,* that he was the wittiest speaker of his
nd they were the times of Sheridan and of
. This was Mr. Canning's opinion, and
o Mr. Pitt's. There was nothing more
Mr. Pitt's sarcasm, nothing so vexatious
nning's light and galling raillery, as the
and piercing wit with which Mr. Fox so
rrupted, but always supported, the heavy
of his argumentative declamation.

fuit satius, tristes Amaryllidis iras,
superba pati fastidia? Nonne, Menalcan?"

ate he had that ready discernment of an
's weakness, and the advantage to be
it, which is, in the war of words, what the
il of a practised general is in the field.
ver best in reply: his opening speeches
most always unsuccessful: the one in

* See 'Quarterly Review' for October, 1810.

1805, upon the Catholic Question, was a gr
ception; and the previous meditation upon
having heard Lord Grenville's able opening
same question in the House of Lords, gav
much anxiety: he felt exceedingly *nervous*,
the common expression. It was a noble p
ance, instinct with sound principle; full of
and striking views of policy; abounding in
nanimous appeals to justice; and bold assert
right, in one passage touching and pathetic
description of a Catholic soldier's feelings
viewing some field where he had shared the d
of the fight, yet repined to think that he
never taste the glories of command. His g
speeches were those in 1791, on the Russian
ment, on Parliamentary Reform in 1797, a
the renewal of the war in 1803. The last he
preferred to all the others; and it had the
vantage, if it be not, however, in another
the advantage,* of coming after the finest
excepting that on the slave-trade, ever de
by his great antagonist. But there are pas
the earlier speeches,—particularly the fierce
upon Lord Auckland in the Russian speech
the impressive and vehement summary of o
ings and our misgovernment in the Reform

* To a great speaker, it is always an advantage
a powerful adversary. The audience is prepared
tion, nay, even feels a craving for some answer.

h it wo l h even in the
sh of 180 . ut the i ority of the sub-
the speech upon the Scrutiny in
t might perhaps be y t the l of
all. The surpassi i of the q on
he speaker himself; r r l v
ll its details possess by his au which
e it sufficient to all to matters and not to
them;* the undeniably strong grounds of
k which he had against his adversary; all
pire to make this great oration as animated
energetic throughout, as it is perfectly felicit-
both in the choice of topics and the handling
em. A fortunate cry of "*Order*," which he
y raised in the very exordium, by affirming
"far from expecting any indulgence, he could
cely hope for bare justice from the House,"
him occasion for dwelling on this topic, and
sing it home with additional illustration; till
redoubled blows and repeated bursts of extem-
neous declamation almost overpowered the
ence, while they wholly bore down all further
rruption. A similar effect is said to have been
luced by Mr. (now Lord) Plunket, in the
h House of Commons, upon some one calling

This is one main cause of the conciseness and rapidity
e Greek orations; they were all on a few simple topics
oughly known to the whole audience. Much of their
alty comes also from this source.

out to take down his words. "Stop," sa
consummate orator, "and you shall have
thing more to take down;" and then follow
torrent, the most vehement and indignant d
tion of the wrongs which his country had su
and had still to endure.

In most of the external qualities of orator
Fox was certainly deficient, being of an un
person, without any grace of action, with a v
little compass, and which, when pressed
vehemence of his speech, became shrill almo
cry or squeak; yet all this was absolutely for
in the moment when the torrent began to
Some of the undertones of his voice were pec
sweet; and there was even in the shrill and
ing sounds which he uttered when at the
exalted pitch, a power that thrilled the heart
hearer. His pronunciation of our langua
singularly beautiful, and his use of it pu
chaste to severity. As he rejected, from th
rectness of his taste, all vicious ornaments,
most sparing, indeed, in the use of figures
so, in his choice of words, he justly shunned
idiom, or words borrowed, whether from the a
or modern languages; and affected the pure
tongue, the resources of which are unknown
many who use it, both in writing and in
ing.

If from the orator we turn to the man, w

[illegible] to lament, whether [illegible] or his public; but [illegible] are excuses to [illegible] to r[illegible]ve the censure, [illegible] of r[illegible]et[illegible]ire and alone. [illegible] e of a [illegible], from whom he [illegible]ly, but little principle, [illegible], in the possession of pe[illegible] cannot safely be trusted to [illegible] of youth; and the dissipated [illegible] drew him, before the age of [illegible], into the whirlpool of fashionable excess. [illegible] comparatively correct age in which our lot [illegible], it would be almost as unjust to apply our more severe standard to him and his associates, as it would have been for the Ludlows and Hutchinsons of the seventeenth century, in writing a history of the Roman empire, to denounce the immoralities of Julius Cæsar. Nor let it be forgotten, that the noble heart and sweet disposition of this great man passed unscathed through an ordeal which, in almost every other instance, is found to deaden all the kindly and generous affections. A life of gambling, and intrigue, and faction, left the nature of Charles Fox as little tainted with selfishness or falsehood, and his heart as little hardened, as if he had lived and died in a farm-house; or rather as if he had not outlived his childish years.

The historian of a character so attractive, the

softer features of which present a re
the accustomed harshness of poli
tempted to extend the same indulgen
the errors of the statesman to the ac
position, or the less lofty tone of p
distinguished the earlier period of
while his principles of conduct wer
ripening. The great party, too, wh
led with matchless personal influence
catch at such a means of defence; b
same measure of justice or of mercy
out to the public conduct of Mr. P
rival, there would be little gain to p
that sacrifice of principle which wo
to such unworthy concessions. It i
gerous example, of most corrupting
to let the faults of statesmen pass u
to treat the errors or the crimes wh
interests of millions with the same
wards human frailty which we may,
of charity, show towards the more
gressions that only hurt an individu
monly only the wrong-doer himself.
it must be said, that whilst his polit
were formed upon the true model
School, and led him, when combine
sition as opposing the government
oppressive policy, to defend the liber
and support the cause of peace both

French [illegible] he c[illegible]ntly modified these principles, according to [illegible]wn [illegible]nation and circumstances as a party c[illegible] ki[illegible] the ambition of the man and the int[illegible]st of [illegible] followers the governing rule of his cond[illegible]. The charge is a grave one; but unl[illegible]pily t[illegible]s fully bear it out. Because Lord [illegible] gained the King's ear, by an int[illegible]ly, but then Lord Shelburne never had pre[illegible]ed to be a follower of Mr. Fox, the latter for[illegible]d a coalition with Lord North, whose person and whose policy he had spent his whole life in decrying; whose misgovernment of America had been the cause of nearly destroying the empire; and whose whole principles were the very reverse of his own. The ground taken by this coalition on which to subvert the government of Lord Shelburne and Mr. Pitt, was, their having made a peace favourable to England beyond what could have been expected, after the state to which Lord North's maladministration had reduced her; their having, among other things, given the new American States too large concessions; and their having made inadequate provision for the security and indemnity of the American loyalists. On such ground they, Mr. Fox and Lord North, succeeded in overturning the ministry, and took their places; which they held for a few months, when the King dismisse[illegible] them, amidst the all but universal joy of the country; men of all ranks, and parties, and

sects, joining in one feeling of disgust at the
tious propensities in which the unnatural allia
was begotten; and apprehending from it, as
Wilberforce remarked, "a progeny stamped w
the features of both parents, the violence of the
party, and the corruption of the other." T
grand error raised the Tories and Mr. Pitt to
power which, during their long and undistur
reign, they enjoyed, notwithstanding all the
paralleled difficulties of the times, and in spite
so many failures in all the military enterprises
themselves and of their foreign allies. The ori
nal quarrel with Mr. Pitt was an error proceed
from the same evil source. His early but mat
talents had been amply displayed; he had alre
gained an influence in Parliament and the count
partly from hereditary, partly from personal q
lities, second only to that of Mr. Fox; his priv
character was wholly untarnished; his princip
were the same with those of the Whigs; he
nobly fought with them the battle which destro
the North administration. Yet no first-rate p
could be found to offer him; although Mr.
had once and again declared a boundless admi
tion of his genius, and an unlimited confidence
his character. Lord John Cavendish, of an il
trious Whig house by birth, but himself one of
most obscure of mankind, must needs be m
Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Pitt was

Lord Cha a man of vast talents, spotless reputation, and he was thus not without a sacrifice of personal honour; ally of Mr. Fox, in serving their com- ry. How much misery and mischief world have been spared had the Rock- inistry preferred Mr. Pitt to Lord John and made the union between him and perpetual! We shall presently see that al most as great in itself, though in its es far from being so disastrous, was committed by Mr. Pitt himself.

erval between the American and the rs was passed by Mr. Fox in opposing vas proposed by his antagonist; with the eption of the measures for restoring the r's authority in 1787. His hearty admi- the French Revolution is well known; is unqualified by any of the profound ious forebodings of Mr. Burke, excited rust of vast and sudden changes among wholly unprepared; and which seems rwards to have been diminished by the fact of a minority having obtained the being compelled to make up, with the of terror, for the essential want of sup- g the people at large. The separation tocratic supporters, and the unfortunate ich it led, left him to struggle for peace

and the Constitution, with a small but steady
of noble-minded associates; and their warfa
the rights of the people during the dismal pe
alarm which elapsed from 1793 to 1801, wh
healing influence of the Addington Govern
was applied to our national wounds, cannot b
highly extolled. The Whigs thus regained
confidence of the nation, which their Coalitio
years before seemed to have forfeited for
The new junction with the Grenville party in
was liable to none of the same objections;
founded on common principles; and it bot
noured its authors and served the State. But
upon Mr. Pitt's death, Mr. Fox again b
possessed of power, we find him widely di
from the leader of a hopeless though high-p
pled Opposition to the Court of George III.
consented to take office without making any
lation with the King on behalf of the Catholi
grave neglect, which afterwards subverted
Whig Government; and if it be said that
sacrifice was made to obtain the greater obj
peace with France, then it must be added th
was slack indeed in his pursuit of that great o
He allowed the odious income-tax to be
doubled, after being driven, one by one, fro
taxes proposed; and proposed on the very
principles ever dreamt of by financiers. B

the unprincipled arrangement for making
d Chief Justice of England a politician, by
him in the Cabinet. He joined as heartily
ne in the fervour of loyal enthusiasm for
overian possessions of the Crown. On one
bject his sense of right, no less than his
nd humane feelings, kept him invariably
the great principles of justice as well as
His attachment was unceasing, and his
invaluable, to the Abolition of the Slave
which his last accession to office certainly
ted by several years. For this, and for his
of Lord Erskine in his amendment of the
Libel, the lasting gratitude of his country
mankind is due; and to the memory of so
nd so amiable a man it is a tribute which
er be cheerfully paid. But to appreciate
titude which England owes him, we must
ot to his ministerial life; we must recur to
ly glorious career as leader of the patriot
hich, during the almost hopeless struggle
793 to 1801, upheld the cause of afflicted
. If to the genius and the courage of
we may justly be said to owe the escape
roscription and from arbitrary power, Fox
next to him as the preserver of that sacred
liberty which they saved to blaze forth in
times. Nor could even Erskine have

triumphed as he did, had not the party wh
Fox so nobly led persevered in maintaining
holy warfare, and in rallying round them whate
was left of the old English spirit to resist
pression.

END OF VOL. I.

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HISTORICAL SKETCHES

OF

STATESMEN

WHO FLOURISHED IN

IE TIME OF GEORGE III.

FIRST SERIES.

VOLUME II.

BY

HENRY, LORD BROUGHAM, F.R.S.,

AND MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE.

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CONTENTS.

STATESMEN

OF THE

TIME OF GEORGE III.

MR. PITT.

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e circumstances of his celebrated antagonist's ation were as different from his own as could l be imagined. It was not merely disparity of rs by which they were distinguished; all the editary prejudices under which the one appeared ore the country were as unfavourable, as the possessions derived from his father's character l renown were auspicious to the entrance of the er upon the theatre of public affairs. The grief, eed, was yet recent which the people had felt the loss of Lord Chatham's genius, so proudly vering above all party views and personal ties, so irely devoted to the cause of his principles and patriotism—when his son appeared to take his tion, and contest the first rank in the popular ction with the son of him whose policy and

parts had been sunk into obscurity by the super
lustre of his rival's capacity and virtues. B
the young statesman's own talents and condu
made good the claim which his birth prefers
At an age when others are but entering upon t
study of state affairs and the practice of debati
he came forth a mature politician, a finished orator,
even, as if by inspiration, an accomplished debat
His knowledge, too, was not confined to the study
the classics, though with these he was familiarly co
versant; the more severe pursuits of Cambridge h
imparted to him some acquaintance with the stric
sciences which have had their home upon the ban
of the Granta since Newton made them his stud
and with political philosophy he was more famil
than most Englishmen of his own age. Havi
prepared himself, too, for being called to the ba
and both attended on courts of justice and frequent
the Western Circuit, he had more knowledge a
habits of business than can fall to the share of o
young patricians; —the material out of which Brit
statesmen are for the most part fashioned by t
attendance upon debates in Parliament, and a stu
of newspapers in the clubs. Happy had he not b
soon removed into office from the prosecution
studies which his rapid political success broke
never to be resumed! For the leading defect of h
life, which is seen through all his measures, a
which not even his great capacity and intense

ould supply, was an ignorance of the prin-
pon which large plans are to be framed, and
to be at once guided and improved. As
he entered upon official duties, his time
the mercy of every one who had a claim to
a grievance to complain of, or a nostrum to
d; nor could the hours of which the day
suffice at once to give all these their au-
to transact the routine business of his sta-
direct or to counteract the intrigues of
and, at the same time, to learn all that his
transplanting from the study to the Cabinet,
m the Bar to the Senate, had of necessity left
t.*

hence, and from the temptation always
in times of difficulty to avoid as much as
all unnecessary embarrassments and all
t forced upon him, arose the peculiarity
narks his story, and marks it in a way not
tful to his own renown, through after ages,
nfortunate for his country. With more
than any minister ever possessed—with an
ion which rather was a help than a hin-
to him during the greater part of his rule—
friendly Court, an obsequious Parliament, a
g people—he held the supreme place in the

n the conversation once rolled upon the quality
uired in a prime minister, Mr. Pitt said, "No-
is that quality."

public councils for many years, and, excepting t
Union with Ireland, which was forced upon him
a rebellion, and which was both corruptly and i
perfectly carried, so as to produce the smallest p
sible benefit to either country, he has not left
single measure behind him for which the comm
nity, whose destinies he so long swayed, has a
reason to respect his memory; while, by want
firmness, he was the cause of an impolicy and
travagance, the effects of which are yet felt, and w
oppress us beyond the life of the youngest now aliv

It is assuredly not to Mr. Pitt's sinking-fu
that we allude, as showing his defective politi
resources; that scheme, now exploded, after bei
gradually given up by all adepts in the science
finance, was for many years their favourite; n
can he in this particular be so justly charged,
he well may in all the rest of his measures, wi
never having gone before his age, and not alwa
being upon a level with the wisdom of his o
times. Yet may it be confessed that, his financ
administration being the main feature in his offic
history, all his other plans are allowed to have be
failures at the time; and this, the only exceptio
began to be questioned before his decease, and h
long been abandoned.* Neither should we v

* It was Dr. Price's Plan; and he complained that
the three schemes proposed by him, Mr. Pitt had ado
the worst.

ahly the entire change of his opinions upon the at question of Reform; albeit the question with ich his claims to public favour commenced, and his support of which his early popularity and wer were almost wholly grounded. But the ce must be admitted, of the defence urged for conversion, that the alarms raised in the most lecting minds by the French Revolution, and its gnate excitement among ourselves, justified a reasideration of the opinions originally entertained on our Parliamentary system, and might induce honest alteration of them. But that any such nsiderations could ever justify him in lending nself to the persecution of his former associates that cause, may be peremptorily denied; and in l of this denial, it may be asked, what would have en said of Mr. Wilberforce, and the other abolinists, had they, on account of some dreadful deation of our colonies by negro insurrection, sudnly joined in proscribing and persecuting all who, er they themselves had left the cause, should have ntinued to devote their efforts to its promotion? it the main charge against Mr. Pitt is his having fered himself to be led away by the alarms of the urt, and the zeal of his new allies, the Burke and indham party, from the ardent love of peace ich he professed and undoubtedly felt, to the ger support of the war against France, which ght well have been avoided had he but stood

firm. The deplorable consequences of this cha in his conduct are too well known: they are too sensibly felt. But are the motives of it wh free from suspicion? *Cui bono?* was the quest put by the Roman lawyer when the person re guilty of any act was sought for. "Whom do profit?"—A similar question may often be p without any want of charity, when we are in qu of the motives which prompted a doubtful or s picious course of action, proved by experience have been disastrous to the world. That, as chief of a party, Mr. Pitt was incalculably a gai by the event which, for a while, well-nigh anni lated the Opposition to his Ministry, and left t Opposition crippled as long as the war lasted, man can doubt. That, independent of its break up the Whig party, the war gave their anta nist a constant lever wherewithal to move at both parliament and people, as long as the sup of war could be obtained from the resources of country, is at least as unquestionable a fact.

But that he very soon opened his eyes to the di trous effects of the war is certain. The viole and misrepresentations of party long concealed truth, and left men to doubt whether or not minister was desirous of a peace which should store prosperity to his own country and imp bounds to the wide-spreading conquests of enemy. It was even very confidently affirmed t

forgiving towards Mr. Wilberforce, who
'orward a motion which it was alleged—
ugh confidently alleged—forced him re-
into a negotiation with France. The
le contradiction of these factious slanders
een given to the world by Lord Malmes-
blication of his grandfather's papers—a
n which I am very far from approving
parts, but which bears the most honour-
mony to Mr. Pitt's conduct in many
particulars. No one can rise from 'a
f the ambassador's 'Diary and Corre-
' without feeling at once how amiable and
le Mr. Pitt was in all the relations of
'e, and how sincerely desirous he was of
eace with the Executive Directory, almost
'ice. The falsehoods caused by factious
, and believed by the blindness of dupes,
eived a more complete exposure.
y indeed well have felt conscious that to
ver the war was not his natural vocation.
act in it betrayed no extent of views, no
ing notions of policy. Anything more
lace can hardly be imagined. To form
tion after another in Germany, and sub-
allies with millions of free gift, or aid
h profuse loans, until all the powers in
vere defeated in succession, and most of
er destroyed or converted into tools of the
such were all the resources of his di -

matic skill. To shun any effectual
the enemy, while he wasted our mil
petty expeditions; to occupy forts,
colonies, which, if France prevaile
were useless acquisitions, only increasi
of the slave-trade, and carrying ab
capital, and which, if France were
rope, would all of themselves fall into
such was the whole scheme of his w
The operations of our navy, which we
as a matter of course, and would h
formed, and must have led to our b
time successes, whoever was the m
whether or not there was any minist
be added to the account; but can ha
influence upon the estimate to be
belligerent administration. When,
culpable refusal to treat with Napole
the work of his associates, and chief
ning school—a refusal grounded o
hope of the newly-gotten Consular
soon overthrown, he found it impossi
to continue the ruinous expenditure o
retired, placing in his office a friend,
quarrelled for refusing to retire whe
den.* But the ostensible ground of h
was the King's bigoted refusal to e

* Lord Malmesbury's Papers show, in a
manner, how extremely reluctant Mr. Pitt w
Mr. Addington (see *infra*, Canning).

sh catholi N(! ould have more redounded his glory than this. But he resumed office in 04, refused to make any stipulation for those same tholics, and always opposed those who urged their ims, on the utterly unconstitutional ground of the ng's personal prejudices; a ground quite as solid for ding to that monarch in 1801 as for not urging m in 1804. It was quite as discreditable to him t, on the same occasion, after pressing Mr. Fox on George III. as an accession of strength necesy for well carrying on the war, he agreed to take e without any such accession, rather than thwart personal antipathy, the capriciousness, the deable antipathy of that narrow-minded and vinive prince against the most illustrious of his jects.*

* It is a singular instance of the great effects of trivial umstances that the following anecdote has been pr.ved:—During the co-operation of all parties against Mr. dington's Government in the spring of 1804, Mr. Pitt Mr. C. Long were one night passing the door of oks's Club-house on their way from the House of Com-s, when Mr. Pitt, who had not been there since the lition of 1784, said he had a great mind to go in and His wary friend said, "I think you had better not," turned aside the well-conceived intention. When we ect on the high favour Mr. Pitt then was in with the igs, and consider the nature of Mr. Fox as well as his , we can have little doubt of the cordial friendship which a night would have cemented, and that the union of the parties would have been complete.

These are heavy charges; but I fear the
remains to be urged against the conduct
eminent person. No man felt more strong
the subject of the African Slave Trade th
and all who heard him are agreed that his sp
against it were the finest of his noble orations
did he continue for eighteen years of his life,
ing every one of his colleagues, nay, of hi
underlings in office, to vote against the q
of Abolition, if they thought fit; men, th
inconsiderable of whom durst no more
thwarted him upon any of the more trifling
sures of his government, than they durst
thrust their heads into the fire. Even the
slave-trade, and the traffic which his war
had trebled by the captured enemy's colon
suffered to grow and prosper under the fo
influence of British capital; and after letting
and years glide away, and hundreds of tho
be torn from their own country, and carr
perpetual misery in ours, while one stroke
pen could, at any moment, have stopped it fo
he only could be brought to issue, a few
before his death, the Order in Council wh
length destroyed the pestilence. This is
the gravest charge to which Mr. Pitt's mem
exposed.

If from the statesman we turn to the orat
contrast is indeed marvellous. He is to be

it any doubt, in the highest class. With a
g use of ornament, hardly indulging more in
, or even in figurative expression, than the
severe examples of ancient chasteness allowed
i little variety of style, hardly any of the
of manner—he no sooner rose than he car-
way every hearer, and kept the attention
nd unflagging till it pleased him to let it go;
en

charming left his voice, that we, awhile,
ll thought him speaking, still stood fix'd to hear."

nagical effect was produced by his unbroken
which never for a moment left the hearer in
r doubt, and yet was not the mean fluency of
relaxation, requiring no effort of the speaker,
nposing on the listener a heavy task; by his
arrangement, which made all parts of the
complicated subject quit their entanglement,
ll each into its place; by the clearness of his
ents, which presented at once a picture to
ind; by the forcible appeals to ict reason
rong feeling, which formed the g t
discourse; by the majesty of the dicti
pth and fulness of the most sonorous
ie unbending dignity of the manner,
eminded us that we were in the pr
than an advocate or debater—
: us a ruler of the people. Su
the effects of this singular

they were as certainly produced on ordinar
sions, as in those grander displays when
to the height of some great argument; or in
in vehement invective against some individu
variegated his speech with that sarcasm of
he was so great a master, and indeed s
sparing an employer; although even here
uniform and consistent; nor did anything,
mood of mind, ever drop from him that w
suited to the majestic frame of the whole, o
disturb the serenity of the full and copio
rolled along.

But if such was the unfailing impression
produced, and which, for a season absorb
faculties, precluded all criticism; upon re
faults and imperfections certainly were di
There prevailed a monotony in the matter,
as in the manner; and even the delightfu
which so long prevented this from being f
itself almost without any variety of ton
things were said nearly in the same way;
some curious machine, periods were roun
ding off, as if, in like moulds, though of
sizes, ideas were shaped and brought ou
composition was correct enough, but not pe
felicitous; his English was sufficiently pu
out being at all racy, or various, or brilla
style was, by Mr. Windham, called "a sta
style," in allusion to its combined dignity

y; and the same nice observer, referring to the
ıently skilful way in which he balanced his
ıses, sailed near the wind, and seemed to dis-
ɜ much whilst he kept the greater part of his
ning to himself, declared that "he verily be-
ɜd Mr. Pitt could speak a King's speech off-
l." His declamation was admirable, mingling
ı and clothing the argument, as to be good for
thing declamation always must; and no more
rable from the reasoning than the heat is from
metal in a stream of lava. Yet, with all this
llence, the last effect of the highest eloquence
for the most part wanting; we seldom forgot
speaker, or lost the artist in the work. He
earnest enough; he seemed quite sincere; he
moved himself as he would move us; we even
t along with him, and forgot *ourselves;* but we
lly forgot *him;* and while thrilled with the
v which his burning words diffused, or transfixed
ı wonder at so marvellous a display of skill, we
felt that it was admiration of a consummate
ɜt which filled us, and that after all we were
ent at an exhibition; gazing upon a wonderful
ormer indeed, but still a performer.

Ve have ventured to name the greatest displays
Ir. Fox's oratory; and it is fit we should at-
ɔt as much by his illustrious rival's. The
ch on the war, in 1803, which, by an accident
befell the gallery, was never reported, is ge-

nerally supposed to have excelled all his
performances in vehement and spirit-stirring
mation; and this may be the more easily b
when we know that Mr. Fox, in his reply
"The orators of antiquity would have admire
bably would have envied it." The last hal
is described as having been one unbroken
of the most majestic declamation. Of those sp
which are in any degree preserved (though
be remarked that the characteristics now g
his eloquence show how much of it was
escape even the fullest transcript that co
given of the words), the finest in all probab
that upon the peace of 1783 and the Co
when he so happily closed his magnificent
tion by that noble yet simple figure, "An
inauspicious union be not already consumma
the name of my country I forbid the banns"
all authorities agree in placing his speech
Slave Trade, in 1791, before any other effor
genius; because it combined, with the most
sioned declamation, the deepest pathos, th
lively imagination, and the closest reasoni
have it from Lord Wellesley, who sat besi
on this memorable occasion, that its effe
Mr. Fox were manifest during the whole pe
the delivery, while Mr. Sheridan expres
feelings in the most hearty and even pa
terms; and I have it from Mr. Windham

me lost in amazement at the compass, till
own to him, of human eloquence. It is
ormer source of information that I derive
lar fact of the orator's health at the time
ı as to require his retirement immediately
rose, in order to take a medicine required
ıg the violent irritation of his stomach..
however, be added, that he was from the
ıhed debater, although certainly practice
ıabit of command had given him more
ıickness in perceiving an advantage and
ıimself of an opening, as it were, in the
ıattle, with the skill and the rapidity
ı our Wellington, in an instant, perceiv-
ılumns of Marmont somewhat too widely
executed the movement that gave him
y of Salamanca. So did Mr. Pitt over-
great antagonist on the Regency, and in
r conflicts. It may be further observed,
r was any kind of eloquence, or any cast
more perfectly suited to the position of
ıe Government forces, keeping up the
his followers under disaster, encouraging
and a galling adverse fire, above all, pre-
hem and the friendly though neutral
' the audience, with reasons or with plau-
ɜxts for giving the Government that sup-
ɜh the one class desired to give, and the
. no disposition to withhold. The effects

which his calm and dignified, yet earnest, m
produced on these classes, and the impre
which it left on their minds, have been admi
portrayed by one of the most able among t
and with his well-chosen words this impe
sketch of so great a subject may be close
"Every part of his speaking, in sentiment, in
guage, and in delivery, evidently bore the sta
his character. All communicated a definite
varied apprehension of the qualities of strent
ness without bustle, unlaboured intrepidity,
severe greatness."*

Nothing that we have yet said of this ext
dinary person has touched upon his private
racter, unless so far as the graver faults o
politician must ever border upon the vices o
frailties of the man. But it must be adm
what even his enemies were willing to confess,
in his failings, or in his delinquencies, there
nothing mean, paltry, or low. His failings
ascribed to love of power and of glory; and
was the harshest feature that disfigured him t
public eye. We doubt if this can all be said
perfect justice; still more that, if it could,
satisfactory defence would thus be made.

* *Quarterly Review, August*, 1819.—Supposed by
be by Mr J. H Frere, but avowedly by an intimat
sonal friend. I have ascertained it to be the work
late lamented friend Sir Robert Grant.

ambition cannot be pronounced very lofty which showed that place, mere high station, was so dear to it as to be sought without regard to its just concomitant, power, and clung by, after being stript of this, the only attribute that can recommend it to noble minds. Yet he well described his office as "the pride of his heart and the pleasure of his life," when boasting that he had sacrificed it to his engagements with Ireland at the Union; and then, within a very short period, he proved that the pleasure and the pride were far too dearly loved to let him think of that tie when he again grasped them, wholly crippled, and deprived of all power to carry a single measure of importance. Nor can any thirst for power itself, any ambition, be it of the most exalted kind, ever justify the measures which he contrived for putting to death those former coadjutors of his own, whose leading object was reform; even if they had overstepped the bounds of law, in the pursuit of their common purpose. His conduct on the slave-trade falls within the same view; and leaves a dark shade resting upon his reputation as a man, a shade which, God be praised, few would take, to be the first of orators and greatest of ministers.

In private life he was singularly amiable; his spirits were naturally buoyant and even playful; his affections warm; his veracity scrupulously exact; his integrity wholly without a stain; and,

although he was, from his situation, cut off most of the relations of domestic life, as a [illegible] a brother he was perfect, and no man was fondly beloved or more sincerely mourned [illegible] friends.*

It was a circumstance broadly distinguishi[illegible] parliamentary position of the two great le[illegible] whom we have been surveying, that while th[illegible] had to fight the whole battle of his governme[illegible] many years, the first and most arduous of hi[illegible] if not single handed, yet with but one coadju[illegible] any power, the other was surrounded by "[illegible] of friends," any one of whom might well [illegible] borne the foremost part. Against such m[illegible] Burke, Windham, Sheridan, North, Erskine, [illegible] Barré,—Mr. Pitt could only set Mr. Dundas; it is certainly the most astonishing part of hi[illegible] tory, that against such a phalanx, backed b[illegible] majority of the Commons, he could strugg[illegible]

* The story told of his refusing to marry Madem[illegible] Necker (afterwards Madame de Staël), when the mat[illegible] proposed by the father, rests upon a true foundation; [illegible] form of the answer, "That he was already marri[illegible] country," has, unless it was a jest, which is very poss[illegible] more foundation tha.. the dramatic exit described [illegible] Rose in the House of Commons, when he stated "[illegible] country" to have been his last words—though it is [illegible] that, for many hours, he only uttered incoherent so[illegible] Such things were too theatrical for so great a man, [illegible] too vulgar a caste for so consummate a performer, [illegible] stooped to play a part in such circumstances.

the first session of his administration. had it not been for the support which he both from the Court and the Lords, and People, who were justly offended with the l coalition of his adversaries, that session t only have been marvellous but impossible.

MR. SHERIDAN.

Of Mr. Fox's adherents who have just been
the most remarkable certainly was Mr. S
and with all his faults, and all his failings,
his defects, the first in genius and greatest i
When the illustrious name of Erskine app
the bright catalogue, it is unnecessary to
we here speak of parliamentary genius and
power.

These sketches as naturally begin with
of the means by which the great rhetoric
batants were brought up, and trained and
for the conflict, as Homer's battles do w
buckling on of armour and other note of
tion, when he brings his warriors forward
scene. Of Mr. Sheridan, any more than
Burke, it cannot be lamented, as of al
other English statesmen, that he came pre
into public life, without time given for pre
by study. Yet this time in his case had
otherwise spent than in Mr. Burke's. Th
education had not been neglected, for he
at Harrow, and with Dr. Parr, yet he was

ıtless boy, learning as little as possible, and
; as much wretchedness; an avowal which
nd of his life he never ceased to make, and
in a very affecting manner. Accordingly,
ght away from school a very slender pro-
ıf classical learning; and his taste, never
or chaste, was wholly formed by acquaint-
th the English poets and dramatists, and
a few of our more ordinary prose-writers;
o other language could he read with any-
pproaching to ease. Of those poets, he
ofessed to admire and to have studied Dry-
ɜ plainly *had* most studied Pope, whom he
vilified and always imitated. But of dra-
his passion evidently was Congreve, and
m, Vanbrugh, Farquhar, even Wycherley;
hom served for the model, partly even for
gazine of his own dramatic writings, as
ıd of his verses. 'The Duenna,' however,
ɜd after the fashion of Gay; of whom it
rther short than the 'School for Scandal'
Congreve. That his plays were great pro-
s for any age, astonishing for a youth of
three and twenty-five, is unquestionable.
ı has accounted for the phenomenon of
ve, at a still earlier period of life, showing
nowledge of the world, by observing that,
ɔse examination, his dialogues and charac-
ght have been gathered from books "with-

but much actual commerce with mankin
same can hardly be said of the 'School
dal;' but the author wrote it when he
years older than Congreve had been at t
the 'Old Bachelor.'

Thus with an ample share of literary
matic reputation, but not certainly of
most auspicious for a statesman; with a
der provision of knowledge at all likely to
in political affairs; with a position by
profession little suited to command the
the most aristocratic country in Europe—
of an actor, the manager himself of a th
came into that parliament which was
by the vast and various knowledge, as well
fied and adorned by the more choice liter
of a Burke, and which owned the sway
summate orators like Fox and Pitt.
effort was unambitious, and it was un
Aiming at but a low flight, he failed
humble attempt. An experienced judge,
told him "It would never do;" and
him to seek again the more congenial a
of Drury-lane. But he was resolved that
do; he had taken his part; and, as he
matter was in him, he vowed not to desist
had brought it out." What he wanted in
learning, and in natural quickness, he m
indefatigable industry: within given limits,

nt object, no labour could daunt him; no
ould work for a season with more steady
ıwearied application. By constant practice
ll matters, or before private committees, by
t attendance upon all debates, by habitual
urse with all dealers in political wares, from
efs of parties and their more refined coteries
providers of daily discussion for the public
e chroniclers of parliamentary speeches, he
himself to a facility of speaking, absolutely
ıl to all but first-rate genius, and all but
ry even to that; and he acquired what
ıtance with the science of politics he ever
ed, or his speeches ever betrayed. By these
e rose to the rank of a first-rate speaker,
great a debater as a want of readiness and
ır preparation would permit.

had some qualities which led him to this
nd which only required the habit of speech
ıg them out into successful exhibition; a
imagination, though more prone to repeat
ıriations the combinations of others, or to
ıe anew their creations, than to bring forth
l productions; a fierce, dauntless spirit of
; a familiarity, acquired from his dramatic
, with the feelings of the heart and the ways
ch its chords; a facility of epigram and
the yet more direct gift of the same theatri-
prenticeship; an excellent manner not un-

connected with that experience; and a depth
voice which perfectly suited the tone of his de
mation, be it invective, or be it descriptive, or
it impassioned. His wit, derived from the
source, or sharpened by the same previous hab
was eminently brilliant, and almost always
cessful; it was like all his speaking, exceedin
prepared, but it was skilfully introduced and
pily applied; and it was well mingled also
humour, occasionally descending to farce.
little it was the inspiration of the moment all
were aware who knew his habits; but a sing
proof of this was presented by Mr. Moore when
came to write his life; for we there find given
the world, with a frankness which must al
have made their author shake in his grave,
secret note-books of this famous wit; and are
enabled to trace the jokes, in embryo, with w
he had so often made the walls of St. Steph
shake, in a merriment excited by the happy app
ance of sudden unpremeditated effusion.*

* Take an instance from this author, giving extracts
the common-place book of the wit:—"He employs
fancy in his narrative, and keeps his recollections fo
wit." Again, the same idea is expanded into—"When
makes his jokes you applaud the accuracy of his mem
and 't is only when he states his facts that you admi
flights of his imagination." But the thought was too
to be thus wasted on the desert air of a common-place
So forth it came at the expense of Kelly, who, having

ɔitness with which he turned to account
asions of popular excitement, and often
ense of the Whig party, generally too
to such advantages, and too insensible
age they thus sustained in public estima-
ll known. On the mutiny in the fleet,
ɾond all question right; on the French
nd on the attacks upon Napoleon, he
as certainly wrong; but these appeals
ple and to the national feelings of the
ded to make the orator well received, if
little to the statesman's reputation; and
er character he was not ambitious. His
rated speech was certainly the one upon
m Charge" in the proceedings against
and nothing can exceed the accounts
s unprecedented success. Not only the
ien first began, which has gradually
ll it greets every good speech, of cheer-
e speaker resuming his seat, but the
sought the House to adjourn the decision
tion, as being incapacitated from form-

f music, became a wine merchant. "You will,"
y wit, "import your music and compose your
was this service exacted from the old idea
cient—so in the House of Commons an easy
ly off-hand parenthesis was thus filled with it
s's cost and charge "(who generally resorts to
for his jokes, and to his imagination for his

ing a just judgment under the influence of su
powerful eloquence; while all men on all sid
vied with each other in extolling so wonderful
performance. Nevertheless, the opinion has
become greatly prevalent, that a portion of t
success was owing to the speech having so grea
surpassed all the speaker's former efforts; to
extreme interest of the topics which the subj
naturally presented; and to the artist-like elabo
tion and beautiful delivery of certain fine passag
rather than to the merits of the whole. Certain
is, that the repetition of great part of it, present
in the short-hand notes of the speech on the su
charge in Westminster Hall, disappoints ev
reader who has heard of the success which attend
the earlier effort. In truth, Mr. Sheridan's
was very far from being chaste, or even moderat
correct; he delighted in gaudy figures; he
attracted by glare; and cared not whether
brilliancy came from tinsel or gold, from bo
glass or pure diamond; he overlaid his th
with epigrammatic diction; he "played to
galleries," and indulged them, of course, wit
endless succession of clap-traps. His worst
sages by far were those which he evidently
ferred himself;—full of imagery often far fetch
oftener gorgeous, and loaded with point that dr
the attention of the hearer away from the thoug
to the words; and his best by far were those wh

med, with his deep clear voice, though
thick utterance, with a fierce defiance of
ersary, or an unappeasable vengeance
ome oppressive act; or reasoned rapidly,
e tone, upon some plain matter of fact,
d as plainly to homely ridicule some
phism; and in all this, his admirable
as aided by an eye singularly piercing,*
ntenance which, though coarse, and even
atures gross, was yet animated and ex-
nd could easily assume the figure of both
menace, and scorn. The few sentences
h he thrilled the House on the liberty of
in 1810 were worth, perhaps, more than
aborated epigrams and forced flowers on
m Charge, or all his denunciations of
; "whose morning orisons and evening
e for the conquest of England, whether
to the God of Battles or worships the
f Reason;" † certainly far better than
ires of his power, as his having "thrones
tch-towers, kings for his sentinels, and
alisades of his castle sceptres stuck with
"Give them," said he in 1810, and in
er strain of eloquence, "a corrupt House
give them a venal House of Commons;
a tyrannical Prince; give them a truck-

It had the singularity of never winking.

† 1802. ‡ 1807.

ling Court,—and let me but have an unf
press; I will defy them to encroach a hair's-b
upon the liberties of England."* Of all his sp
there can be little doubt that the most powe
the most chaste, was his reply, in 1805, up
motion which he had made for repealin
Defence Act. Mr. Pitt had unwarily throw
a sneer at his support of Mr. Addington, as
it was insidious. Such a stone, cast by a
whose house on that aspect was one pane of
could not fail to call down a shower of m
and they who witnessed the looks and gest
the aggressor under the pitiless pelting
tempest which he had provoked, represen
certain that there were moments when he in
to fasten a personal quarrel upon the vehem
implacable declaimer.†

When the just tribute of extraordinary
tion has been bestowed upon this great orat
whole of his praise has been exhausted.
statesman, he is without a place in any clas
any rank; it would be incorrect and flatter
call him a bad, or a hurtful, or a short-sigh
a middling statesman; he was no statesman

* 1810.

† Mr Sheridan wrote his speech during the deb
coffee-house near the Hall, and it is reported m
rately in the Parliamentary debates, apparently
own notes.

arty man, his character stood lower than it
ed, chiefly from certain personal dislikes
s him; for, with the perhaps doubtful ex-
n of his courting popularity at his party's
e on the two occasions already mentioned,
e much more serious charge against him of
ing his party in the Carlton House negotia-
: 1812, followed by his extraordinary denial
facts when he last appeared in Parliament,
an nothing be laid to his charge as incon-
with the rules of the strictest party duty
nour; although he made as large sacrifices
unprofessional man ever did to the cause of
and hopeless Opposition, and was often
l with unmerited coldness and disrespect by
adjutors. But as a man, his character stood
edly low: his intemperate habits, and his
ary embarrassments, did not merely tend to
lent conduct, by which himself alone might
sufferer; they involved his family in the
ate; and they also undermined those prin-
of honesty which are so seldom found to
: fallen fortunes, and hardly ever can con-
he ornament and the stay of ruined cir-
nces, when the tastes and the propensities
ered in prosperous times survive through
enial season of adversity. Over the frailties
en the faults of genius, it is permitted to
veil, after marking them as much as the

interests of virtue require, in order to warn agai the evil example, and preserve the sacred ti bright and pure from such unworthy and unseem contamination.

MR. WINDHAM.

the members of his party, to whom we
ded as agreeing ill with Mr. Sheridan, and
him with little deference, Mr. Windham
nost distinguished. The advantages of a
assical education, a lively wit of the most
and yet abstruse description, a turn for
asoning, drawing nice distinctions, and
remote analogies, great and early know-
the world, familiarity with men of letters
ts, as well as politicians, with Burke,
and Reynolds, as well as with Fox and
uch acquaintance with constitutional his-
principle, a chivalrous spirit, a noble
singularly expressive countenance—all
s remarkable person to shine in debate;
all, when put together, unequal to the
ising him to the first rank; and were, be-
ngled with defects which exceedingly im-
e impression of his oratory, while they
d his usefulness and injured his reputation
sman. For he was too often the dupe of
ingenuity; which made him doubt and

balance, and gave an oscitancy fatal to vig
council, as well as most prejudicial to the eff
eloquence, by breaking the force of his bl
they fell. His nature, too, perhaps owing
hesitating disposition, was to be a follower,
a worshipper, rather than an original thin
actor; as if he felt some relief under the
which harassed him from so many quarte
thus taking shelter under a master's wing,
devolving upon a less scrupulous balancer of
flicting reasons, the task of trimming the
and forming his opinions for him. Accordi
first Johnson in private, and afterwards Bur
political matters, were the deities whom he ad
and he adhered manfully to the strong opini
the latter, though oftentimes painfully com
to suppress his sentiments, all the time that he
council with Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville,
would only consent to conduct the French
upon principles far lower and more compron
than those of the great anti-Jacobin and
Gallican leader. But when untrammelled b
cial connexion, and having his lips sealed
decorum or prudence or other observance
scribed by station, it was a brave sight to
gallant personage descend into the field of d
panting for the fray, eager to confront any m
any number of men that might prove his m
scorning all the little suggestions of a paltry

n, heedless of every risk of retort to which
ght expose himself, as regardless of popular
ıse as of Court favour, nay, from his natural
ıf danger and disdain of everything like fear,
ıg into the most offensive expression of the
unpopular opinions with as much alacrity as
inced in braving the power and daring the
y of the Crown. Nor was the style of his
ing at all like that of other men's. It was in
ısy tone of familiar conversation; but it was
f nice observation and profound remark; it
nstinct with classical allusion; it was even
nformed with philosophic and with learned
tion; it sparkled with the finest wit—a wit
ı was as far superior to Sheridan's, as his to
ambols of the Clown, or the movements of
loon; and his wit, how exuberant soever, still
d to help on the argument, as well as to illus-
the meaning of the speaker. He was, how-
in the main, a serious, a persuasive speaker,
ı words plainly flowed from deep and vehe-
and long considered, and well weighed, feel-
ıf the heart. Erat summa gravitas; erat cum
:ate junctus facetiarum et urbanitatis oratorius
currilis lepos. Latine loquendi accurata et
ıolestiâ diligens elegantia. (*Cic. Brut.*)
e rock on which he so often made shipwreck
ıate, and still oftener in council or action,
ıat love of paradox, on which the tide of his

exuberant ingenuity naturally carried him, as does many others, who, finding so much more to be said in behalf of an untenable position than at first sight appeared possible to themselves, or to ordinary minds can at any time apprehend, begin to bear with the erroneous dogma, and end by adopting it.*

"They first endure, then pity, then embrace."

So he was, from the indomitable bravery of his disposition, and his loathing of everything mean, or that savoured of truckling to mere power, not unfrequently led to prefer a course of conduct, or line of argument, because of their running counter to public opinion or the general feeling, instead of confining his disregard to popularity within just bounds, and holding on his course in pursuit of truth and right, in spite of its temporary disfavour with the people. With these errors there was generally much truth mingled, or at least nothing that was manifestly wrong tinged the tenets or conduct he was opposing; yet he was not the man an unsafe councillor, and in debate a dangerous ally. His conduct on the Volunteer question,

* They who have been engaged in professional intercourse with the late Mr. John Clerk (afterwards Lord Eldin) will recollect how often that great lawyer was carried away to entertain paradoxical opinions exactly by the process here described.

ɜ of the City with Military Rewards,
ɜments of the People, and Cruelty to
.fforded instances of this mixed descrip-
e he was led into error by resisting
al error on the opposite hand; yet do
ions also afford proof of the latter part
going proposition; for what sound or
w could justify his hostility to all volun-
e, his reprobation of all expression of
itude for the services of our soldiers and
unqualified defence of bull-baiting, his
of all checks upon cruelty towards the
tion? Upon other subjects of still
ort his paradoxes stood prominent and
s; unredeemed by ingenuity, unpalliated
: exaggeration, and even unmitigated by
ure of truth. He defended the Slave
ch he had at first opposed, only because
ı Royalists were injured by the revolt
· own follies had occasioned in St. Do-
resisted all mitigation of our Criminal
because it formed a part of our anti-
sprudence, like trial by battle, nay by
ire and water; and he opposed every
Educating the People. It required all
erness towards undoubted sincerity and
erestedness to think charitably of such
heresies in such a man. It demanded
arity and all this faith in the spotless

honour of his character, to believe that opinions could really be the convictions of a like his. It was the greatest tribute which be paid to his sterling merit, his fine parts, hi accomplishments, that, in spite of such wid rations, he was still admired and beloved.

To convey any notion of his oratory by passages of his speeches is manifestly impo Of the mixed tenderness and figure in whi sometimes indulged, his defence of the mi policy pursued by him while in office again attempts made to change it the year after, be mentioned; the fine speech, especially, in on taking leave of the subject, after compari two plans of recruiting our army to a dead thrust into the ground and a living sapling p to take root in the soil, he spoke of carvin name upon the tree as lovers do when they perpetuate the remembrance of their passio their misfortunes. Of his happy allusions writings of kindred spirits an example, but all above their average merit, is afforded speech upon the peace of Amiens, when swered the remarks upon the uselessness o Royal title, then given up, of King of Franc citing the bill of costs brought in by Dean against Marlborough, and the comparative ac of the charges of a Roman triumph, wher crown of laurel is set down at twopence.

ıes he would convulse the House by a happy, g, and most unexpected allusion; as when Walcheren question, speaking of a *coup-de-* on Antwerp, which had been its professed , he suddenly said, "A *coup-de-main* in the dt! You might as well talk of a *coup-de-* in the Court of Chancery." Sir William ıt having just entered and taken his seat, pro- y suggested this excellent jest; and assuredly man enjoyed it more. His habitual gravity overpowered in an instant, and he was seen olutely to roll about on the bench which he had t occupied. So a word or two artistically intro- ced would often serve him to cover the adverse gument with ridicule. When arguing that they ho would protect animals from cruelty have more ı their hands than they are aware of, and that ey cannot stop at preventing cruelty, but must so prohibit killing, he was met by the old answer, at we kill them to prevent them overrunning the rth, and then he said in passing, and, as it were, renthetically—"An indifferent reason, by the ıy, for destroying fish." His two most happy d picturesque, though somewhat caricatured, de- riptions of Mr. Pitt's diction, have been already entioned: that it was a state-paper style, and that ı believed he could speak a King's speech off ınd. His gallantry in facing all attacks wa own daily; and how little he cared for allusior

to the offensive expressions treasured up a
him, and all the more easily remembered b
of the epigrams in which he had embalmed
might be seen from the way he himself would
to them, as if not wishing they should be forg
When some phrase of his, long after it w
used, seemed to invite attack, and a great
followed, as if he had unwittingly fallen in
scrape, he stopped and added, "Why, I said
purpose!" or, as he pronounced it, "a pur
for no man more delighted in the old pron
tion, as well as the pure Saxon idiom of ou
guage, which yet he could enrich and dignif
the importations of classical phraseology.

From what has been said of Mr. Win
manner of speaking, as well as of his va
embellished mind, it will readily be suppos
in society he was destined to shine almost w
a rival. His manners were the most polishe
noble, and courteous, without the least appre
pride, or affectation, or condescension; his
were, in advanced life, so gay, that he was
younger than the youngest of his compan
relish of conversation was such, that, after ha
to the latest moment, he joined whatever p
sultry evening (or morning, as it might che
prove) tempted to haunt the streets before r
to rest. How often have we accompanied h
the door of his own mansion, and then be

ıded by him to our own, while the streets rang :h the peals of his hearty merriment, or echoed ı accents of his refined and universal wit! But conversation, or grave, or gay, or argumenta- e, or discursive, whether sifting a difficult sub- t, or painting an interesting character, or pur- ng a merely playful fancy, or lively to very ıllery, or pensive and pathetic, or losing itself in ı clouds of metaphysics, or vexed with paradox, plain and homely, and all but commonplace, s that which, to be understood, must have been :ened to; and, while over the whole was flung a l of unrent classical elegance, through no cre- e, had there been any, would ever an unkind or conditioned sentiment have found entrance!

" Scilicet omne sacrum mors importuna profanat,
Omnibus obscuras injicit ille manus—
Ossa quieta precor, tutâ requiescite in urnâ;
Et sit humus cineri non onerosa tuo!"*

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* Relentless death each purer form profanes,
Round all that's fair his dismal arms he throws—
Light lie the earth that shrouds thy loved remains,
And softly slumbering may they taste repose!

MR. DUNDAS.

If we turn from those whose common princip and party connexion ranged them against Mr. Pi to the only effectual supporter whom he could c upon as a colleague on the Treasury Bench, shall certainly find ourselves contemplating a p sonage of very inferior pretensions, although whose powers were of the most useful descriptio Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, had claim whatever to those higher places among orators of his age, which were naturally filled the great men whom we have been describing; indeed could he be deemed *inter oratorum merum* at all. He was a plain, business-like speake a man of every-day talents in the House; a cle easy, fluent, and, from much practice, as well strong and natural sense, a skilful debater; cessful in profiting by an adversary's mistake distinct in opening a plan and defending a Mat terial proposition; capable of producing even great effect upon his not unwilling audience by broad and coarse appeals to popular prejudices a his confident statements of facts—those statemen

, Sir Francis Burdett once happily observed,
ı fall into through an inveterate habit of
l assertion." In his various offices no one
ıore useful. He was an admirable man of
ss; and those professional habits which he
ought from the bar (where he practised long
h for a youth of his fortunate family to reach
ghest official place) were not more serviceable
ı in making his speeches perspicuous, and his
ing logical, than they were in disciplining
nd to the drudgery of the desk, and helping
o systematise, as well as to direct, the ma-
y of his department. After quitting the
sion of the law, to which, indeed, he had for
of the later years of Lord North's Admini-
n only nominally belonged, and leaving also
ice of Lord Advocate, which he retained for
l years after, he successively filled the place
ıister for India, for the Home and War De-
ents, and for Naval Affairs. But it was in
st of these capacities, while at the head of the
Board, and while Chairman of the Committee
Commons upon India, that his great capacity
ıirs shone chiefly forth; and that he gave
nd long-continued proof of an indefatigable
y, which neither the distractions of debate
liament, nor the convivial habits of the man
the times, ever could interrupt or relax.
elebrated Reports upon all the complicated

questions of our Asiatic policy, although the
not stand a comparison with some of Mr. B
in the profundity and enlargement of general
any more than their style can be compared
his, are nevertheless performances of the gr
merit, and repositories of information upo
vast subject, unrivalled for clearness and
They, together with Lord Wellesley's Despa
form the sources from which the bulk of
knowledge possessed upon Indian matters i
derived by the statesmen of the present day.

If in his official departments, and in the
of Parliament, Mr. Dundas rendered able
and possessed great weight, it was in Scotla
native country, whose language he spok
whose whole affairs he directed, that his
and his authority chiefly prevailed. Befo
reform in our representation and our mu
institutions, the undisturbed possession of
age by a leading member of the Governme
very sure to carry along with it a paramo
fluence, both over the representatives of th
cient kingdom and over their constituents,
the submission to men in high place, and o
with the power of conferring many favours,
have been so much more absolute in the no
than in the southern parts of our island, it
be needless to inquire. Whether it arose fr
old feudal habits of the nation, or from its p

ined with a laudable ambition to rise in the orld above the pristine station, or from the wary d provident character of the people; certain it that they displayed a devotion for their political periors, and a belief in their infallibility, which ould have done no discredit to the clansmen of ose chieftains who whilom both granted out the nds of the sept, retained the stipulated services the vassal, and enjoyed the rights of jurisdiction d of punishment, whereby obedience was secured, d zealous attachment stimulated in its alliance ith wholesome terror.

That Mr. Dundas enjoyed this kind of minisrial sovereignty and received this homage in a ore ample measure than any of his predecessors, s, no doubt, owing partly to the unhesitating d unqualified determination which regulated his nduct, of devoting his whole patronage to the pport of his party, and to the extent of that tronage, from his being so long minister for dia, as well as having the whole Scottish preferent at his absolute disposal; but it was also in rt owing to the engaging qualities of the man. steady and determined friend, who only stood faster by those that wanted him the more; nay, o even in their errors or their faults would not e up his adherents: an agreeable companion, m the joyous hilarity of his manners; void of affectation, all pride, all pretension; a kind

affectionate man in the relations of priva
and, although not always sufficiently regar
strict decorum in certain particulars, yet
putting on the Pharisee's garb, or affecting
"gracious state" than he had attained, fr
self-denying to those inferiors in his depa
whose comforts so much depended upon hi
his demeanour hearty and good-humoured t
it is difficult to figure any one more calcul
win over those whom his mere power and
had failed to attach; or better fitted to ret
friends whom accident or influence might
ally have attached to his person. That he
for so many years have disposed of the w
Parliament of nearly the whole Scottish
moners, and the whole Peers, was, therefor
to be wondered at; that his popularity a
fluence in the country at large should hav
boundless during all this period, is as easily
understood. There was then no doubt ever
of the ministry's stability, or of Mr. H
ample share in the dispensation of its f
The political sky was clear and settled to th
verge of the horizon. There was nothing
turb the hearts of anxious mortals. The w
pensive Scot felt sure of his election, if
kept by the true faith; and his path lay
before him – the path of righteous devotion
onto a blessed preferment. But our N

men were fated to be visited by some trou-
The heavens became overcast; their lumi-
is for a while concealed from devout eyes;
they sought him, but he was not. Uncouth
began to be named. More than two parties
lked of. Instead of the old, convenient,
elligible alternative of "Pitt or Fox"—
or poverty,"—which left no doubt in any
mind which of the two to choose, there
—strange sight!—hateful and perplexing
-a Ministry without Pitt, nay, without
, and an Opposition leaning towards its
. Those who are old enough to remember
rk interval may recollect how the public
Scotland was subdued with awe, and how
aited in trembling silence the uncertain
s all living things quail during the solemn
at precedes an earthquake.
s in truth a crisis to try men's souls. For
all was uncertainty and consternation; all
en fluttering about like birds in an eclipse
nder-storm; no man could tell whom he
rust; nay, worse still, no man could tell of
e might ask anything. It was hard to say,
were in office, but who were likely to re-
office. All true Scots were in dismay and
on. It might truly be said they knew not
ay to look, or whither to turn. Per
be yet more truly said that they k

when to turn. But such a crisis was too last; it passed away; and then was to proof of Mr. Dundas's power amongst hi men, which transcended all expectation, surpassed belief, if indeed it is not rat viewed as an evidence of the acute fore political second-sight—of the Scottish ne trusty band in both Houses actually w adhering to him against the existing Go nay, he held the proxies of many Scottis open opposition! Well might his coll claim to the hapless Addington in such troubles, "Doctor, the Thames fly from u the very Scotch Peers wavered, and Grampian hills might next be expected about, it was time to think that the things was at hand: and the return o security, and patronage and Dundas, s sued to bless old Scotland, and reward dence or her fi' lity—her attachment her patron and herself.

The subject of Lord Melville cann complete without some mention of the e finally deprived him of place and of pow it hardly ever lowered him in the respect tions of his countrymen. We allude, of the Resolutions carried by Mr. Whitbre 8th of April, 1805, with the Speake voice, which led to the immediate resign

t impeachment, of this distinguished per-
Pitt defended him strenuously, and only
illed to abandon his friend and colleague
e of the Commons, which gave him a
ang," that as he pronounced the word
hall resound, and seems yet to fill the
after his death, while the Government
s rival's hands, and all the offices of the
s filled with the enemies of the accused,
ville was brought to trial before his
l by a large majority acquitted, to the
versal satisfaction of the country. Have
ght to regard him as guilty after this
g? It is true that the spirit of party is
ith the event of this memorable trial;
thing of that spirit preside over the pro-
n the Commons, the grand inquest of the
ich made the presentment, and put the
pon his trial? That Lord Melville was
nan, and wholly indifferent about money,
life had shown. That he had replaced
sum temporarily used, was part even of
ent which charged him with misemploy-
hat Mr. Pitt, whom no one ever accused
ion, had been a party to two of his sup-
ing four times as much of the public
a time, and without paying interest, was
proved; though, for the purpose of
more severely upon Lord Melville, a

great alacrity was shown to acquit the R
nister, by way of forming a contrast to
surer of the Navy. In a word, the ca
against him was not by any means so c
give us the right to charge the great majo
Peers with corrupt and dishonourable c
acquitting him; while it is a known fact
Judges who attended the trial were, wi
ception of the Lord Chief Justice, all cl
vinced of his innocence. Nor, let it b
would the charge against him have been
in the times of the Harleys and the Wa
a nature to stain his character. Witness
rising to supreme power after being exp
House of Commons for corruption; and
ing only urged, in his own defence, that
sand pounds paid to him by a contractor
for the use of a friend, whom he desired t
and to whom he had paid it all over: no
tion his having received above seventeen
pounds, under circumstances of the grav
cion, the day before he quitted office, a
he never seems to have accounted for, o
saying he had the King's authority to tak

* Mr. Coxe, in his life of Walpole, cannot, of
the defence on higher ground than Walpole h
to the 1,000*l.* received on the contract, in 1711, w
Secretary at War. As to the sum reported by th
Commons' Committee (17,461*l.*) to have been o

tain that these remarks will give little
ı to those whose political principles have
ıt them apart from, and inimical to, Lord
But to what purpose have men lived for
:y years after the trial, and survived the
ıe charge more than a quarter of a cen-
:y cannot now, and upon a mere judicial

, on the authority of two Treasury orders, the
main argument is, that the money must have
ately wanted for public purposes, though these
particularised, and that the king must have
the draft, because he signed the warrants. A
ıce cannot well be conceived; nor is it much
assertion which follows, that Sir Robert began
ıdication of himself which he broke off "on a
at his answer must either have been materially
he must have related many things highly im-
exposed to the public." The fact of a man,
te of about 2000*l.* a-year at first, and which
much above 4000*l.*, having lived extravagantly,
above 200,000*l.*, is not at all explained by Mr.
t is mainly on this expensive living and accu-
'ortune that the suspicions which hang over his
. But it is needless to say more upon a topic
form no justification of Lord Melville if he
The subject is only alluded to in this place
ıse of showing how much more pure our public
'e, and how much higher is our standard of
:. The acquittal of Lord Melville was deemed
ı sanction his restoration to office; although Sir
ıole, without any attempt to rescind the vote of
.fterwards advanced to the place of Prime
l held it for twenty years.

question, permit their judgments to
scope,—deeding calmly upon events
to the history of the past, and invol
ation of the dead?

MR. ERSKINE.

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stry of Mr. Pitt did not derive more
ce from the Bar in the person of Mr.
an the Opposition party did ornament
rity in that of Mr. Erskine. His par-
talents, although they certainly have
rated, were as clearly not the prominent
his character. Nevertheless, it must be
at, had he appeared in any other period
ge of the Foxes, the Pitts, and the
ere is little chance that he would have
ed even as a debater; and the singular
and powerful effect of his famous speech
Jesuit's Bark Bill, in the House of
ndantly proves this position. He never
have given his whole mind to the prac-
ting; he had a very scanty provision
information; his time was always occu-
he laborious pursuits of his profession;
to the House of Commons, where he
g several equals, and behind some supe-
a stage where he shone alone, and with-

* 1808.

out a rival; above all, he was accustomed to a select and friendly audience, bound to le their patient attention, and to address them compulsion of his retainer, not as a volunte ing forward in his own person; a positio which the transition is violent and extreme, of having to gain and to keep a promiscuo in great part, hostile audience, not under an gation to listen one instant beyond the time which the speaker can flatter, or interest, o them. Earlier practice and more devotion pursuit would doubtless have vanquished a disadvantages; but they sufficed to keep M kine always in a station far beneath his ta long as he remained in the House of Comm

It is to the Forum, and not the Senate, must hasten, if we would witness the "c multiplicem, judicium erectum, cerebrum acu multas admirationes, risum cum velit, cu fletum, in Scenâ Roscium;" in fine, if we see this great man in his element and in hi Nor let it be deemed trivial, or beneath th rian's province, to mark that noble figure look of whose countenance is expressive motion of whose form graceful; an eye that and pierces, and almost assures victory, "speaks audience ere the tongue." Jurl declared that they felt it impossible to remo looks from him when he had riveted and, as

scinated them by his first glance; and it used to
a common remark of men who observed his mo-
ons, that they resembled those of a blood-horse;
light, as limber, as much betokening strength
d speed, as free from all gross superfluity or in-
mbrance. Then hear his voice of surpassing
eetness, clear, flexible, strong, exquisitely fitted
strains of serious earnestness, deficient in com-
ss, indeed, and much less fitted to express indig-
tion, or even scorn, than pathos, but wholly free
om either harshness or monotony. All these,
wever, and even his chaste, dignified, and appro-
iate action, were very small parts of this wonder-
l advocate's excellence. He had a thorough
owledge of men—of their passions and their feel-
gs—he knew every avenue to the heart, and could
will make all its chords vibrate to his touch.
is fancy, though never playful in public, where
had his whole faculties under the most severe
ntrol, was lively and brilliant; when he gave it
nt and scope, it was eminently sportive; but
hile representing his client, it was wholly subser-
ent to that in which his whole soul was wrapped
, and to which each faculty of body and of mind
s subdued—the success of the cause. His argu-
ntative powers were of the highest order; clear
his statements, close in his applications, un-
aried and never to be diverted in his deductions;
h a quick and sure perception of his point, and

undeviating in the pursuit of whatev
it; endued with a nice discernment o
importance and weight of different a
the faculty of assigning to each its
so as to bring forward the main bo
soning in bold relief, and with its full
not weaken its effect by distracting a
the attention of the audience among
culars. His understanding was em
though he had never made himself a
yet could he conduct a purely legal a
the most perfect success; and his fa
all the ordinary matters of his p
abundantly sufficient for the purposes
His memory was accurate and reten
traordinary degree: nor did he eve
trial of a cause, forget any matter,
soever, that belonged to it. His pre
was perfect in action, that is, before t
a line is to be taken upon the instan
tion risked to a witness, or a topic c
tribunal, on which the whole fate of
turn. No man made fewer mistakes
few advantages unimproved; before
dangerous for an adversary to slumb
his guard; for he was ever broad a
and was as adventurous as he was s
apt to take advantage of any the le
he was cautious to leave none in his

to all these qualities he joined that fire, that
that courage, which gave vigour and direc-
o the whole, and bore down all resistance.
m, with all his address and prudence, ever
:ured upon more bold figures, and they were
mly successful; for his imagination was vigor-
ough to sustain any flight; his taste was cor-
nd even severe, and his execution felicitous
: highest degree. Without much familiar
edge of even the Latin classics; with hardly
:cess to the beauties of the Attic eloquence,
er in prose or verse; with no skill in modern
ges; his acquaintance with the English tongue
:t so perfect, and his taste so exquisite, that
g could exceed the beauty of his diction,
ver subject he attempted; whether discours-
the most humble topics, of the most ordinary
1 court or in society, or defending men for
lives, under the persecution of tyrannical
, wrestling against the usurpations of Parlia-
in favour of the liberty of the press, and
ling against the assaults of the infidel the
of revealed religion. Indeed the beauty, as
s chaste simplicity, of the language in which
ıld clothe the most lowly subjects reminded
assical scholar of some narratives in the
:y, where there is not one idea that rises
the meanest level, and yet all is made grace-
d elegant by the magic of the diction. Aware

that his classical acquirements were so
men oftentimes marvelled at the phenome
his eloquence, above all, of his composition.
solution of the difficulty lay in the constant
ing of the old English authors to which he d
himself: Shakspeare he was more familia
than almost any man of his age; and Mil
nearly had by heart. Nor can it be deni
the study of the speeches in "Paradise L
as good a substitute as can be found
immortal originals in the Greek models
which those great productions have manifest
formed.

Such was his oratory; but oratory is o
half, and the lesser half, of the *Nisi Prius*
cate; and Mr. Erskine never was known to
the more important moiety of the part he
sustain. The entire devotion to his cause
made him reject everything that did not
forward, and indignantly scorn all tempta
sacrifice its smallest point for any rhetori
umph, was not the only virtue of his ad
His judgment was quick, sound, and sure
each successive step to be taken. his
bold, but cautious and enlightened, at eac
His speaking was hardly more perfect th
examination of witnesses, the art in which
of an English advocate's skill is shown,
examination-in-chief was as excellent as hi

:amination; a department so apt to deceive the ılgar, and which yet is, generally speaking, far ss available, as it hardly ever is more difficult, an the examination-in-chief, or in reply. In all ese various functions, whether of addressing the ry, or urging objections to the court, or examin-g his own witnesses, or cross-examining his ad-ersary's, this consummate advocate appeared to l at one and the same time different characters; act as the counsel and representative of the ırty, and yet to be the very party himself; while addressed the tribunal, to be also acquainted ith every feeling and thought of the judge or e jury; and while he interrogated the witness, hether to draw from him all he knew, and in the ost favourable shape, or to shake and displace all had said that was adverse, he appeared to have ntered into the mind of the person he was dealing ith, and to be familiar with all that was passing ithin it. It is by such means that the hearer is be moved, and the truth ascertained; and he ill ever be the most successful advocate who can proach the nearest to this lofty and difficult sition.

The speeches of this great man are preserved to with a care and correctness which those only of r. Burke, Mr. Windham, Mr. Canning, and Lord udley, among all the orators of whom this work eats, can boast. He had a great facility of com-

position; he wrote both much and correctly
five volumes which remain were all revi
himself; most of them at the several times
first publication. Mr. Windham, too, is k
have left most of his speeches written out c
in his own hand. The same care was b
upon their speeches by the others just
Neither those of Mr. Fox, or Mr. Pitt, n
one or two exceptions, of Mr. Sheridan, c
joyed the same advantages; and a most
estimate would therefore be formed of th
quence, as compared with that of others, w
only to build their judgment upon the
which the Parliamentary Debates present.

Of Mr. Erskine's, the first, beyond all
was his speech for Stockdale, foolishly and
sively prosecuted by the House of Comm
publishing the Reverend Mr Logan's
tract upon Hastings's impeachment. Th
no finer things in modern, and few finer in
eloquence than the celebrated passage of the
Chief; nor has beautiful language ever be
with more curious felicity to raise a strik
an appropriate image before the mind, tha
simile of the winds "lashing before them
elements, which without the tempest would
into pestilence." The speeches on Cons
Treason are also noble performances, in
the reader never can forget the sublimity

iation against those who took from the
he sentence against Sidney, which should
een left on record to all ages, that it might
ıd blacken in the sight, like the handwriting
wall before the Eastern tyrant, to deter
ıtrages upon justice." One or two of the
s upon Seduction, especially that for the
.nt in *Howard* v. *Bingham*, are of exquisite

mains that we commemorate the deeds which
and which cast the fame of his oratory into
.de. He was an undaunted man; he was an
ted advocate. To no Court did he ever
, neither to the Court of the King, neither
Court of the King's Judges. Their smiles
eir frowns he disregarded alike in the fear-
charge of his duty. He upheld the liberty
ress against the one; he defended the rights
people against both combined to destroy
If there be yet amongst us the power of
liscussing the acts of our rulers; if there be
privilege of meeting for the promotion of
reforms; if he who desires wholesome
s in our Constitution be still recognised as
ot, and not doomed to die the death of a
; let us acknowledge with gratitude, that
great man, under Heaven, we owe this
of the times. In 1794, his dauntless
, his indomitable courage, kindling his elo-

quence, inspiring his conduct, giving di
lending firmness to his matchless skill, r
combination of statesmen, and princes, a
—the league of cruelty and craft, formed
our Liberties—and triumphantly scatter
winds the half-accomplished scheme of
ing proscription. Before such a preco
as this, well may the lustre of statesm
orators grow pale; and yet this was th
ment of one only not the first orator o
and not among its foremost statesmen, b
was beyond all comparison the most acc
advocate, and the most eloquent, that mo
have produced.

The disposition and manners of the
hardly less attractive than his genius and
fessional skill were admirable. He was, li
all great men, simple, natural, and ami
of humane feelings and kindly affections
he had little or none in conversation; a
too gay to take any delight in discussion
humour was playful to buoyancy, and wi
extravagance; and he indulged his ro
devious and abrupt imagination as much
as in public he kept it under rigoro
That his private character was exempt
ings can in no wise be affirmed. Th
which was charged upon his conversati
which he only seemed to adopt the t

leaders of his times, was wholly unmixed
.hing offensive to others; though it might
mile at his own expense. Far from seek-
se himself by their depression, his vanity
ıe best-natured and least selfish kind; it
.ly social and tolerant, and, as it were,
ıs; nay, he always seemed to extol the
ɔthers with fully more enthusiasm than he
layed in recounting his own. But there
ker places to be marked, in the extreme
ıce with which some indulgences were
nd unfortunate connexions, even late in
ıed. Lord Kenyon, who admired and
n fervently, and used always to appear as
him as a schoolmaster of his favourite
ough himself rigorous to the point of
ı, was wont to call these imperfections,
hem tolerantly, "spots in the sun;" and
ith sorrow be added, that as the lustre of
ıary became more dim, the spots did not
in their dimensions. The usual course on
asions is to say, *Taceamus de his*,—but
ıeither asserts her greatest privilege, nor
·s her higher duties, when, dazzled by
genius, or astonished by splendid triumphs,
oftened by amiable qualities, she abstains
·king those defects which so often degrade
sterling worth, and which the talents and
tions that they accompany may sometimes
ıen to imitate.

The striking and imposing appearance
great man's person has been mentioned. His
culean strength of constitution may also be
During the eight-and-twenty years that he
tised at the bar, he never was prevented
hour from attending to his professional duties
the famous State Trials in 1794, he lost his
on the evening before he was to address the
it returned to him just in time, and this, like
felicities of his career, he always ascribed
special providence, with the habitually re
disposition of mind which was hereditary
godly families that he sprung from.

MR. PERCEVAL.

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son of great eminence, who, like Mr. Ers-
rose from the Bar, where, however, he never
nished himself much, was Mr. Perceval, a
very quick parts, much energy of character,
ss courage, joined to patient industry, prac-
nency as a speaker, great skill and readiness
bater; but of no information beyond what
ical education gives the common run of
youths. Of views upon all things the
arrow, upon religious and even political
ns the most bigoted and intolerant, his
of mental vision was confined in proportion
ignorance on all general subjects. Within
here he saw with extreme acuteness,—as
le is supposed to be more sharp-sighted
e eagle for half a quarter of an inch before
as beyond the limits of his little horizon
no better than the mole, so, like her, he
believed, and always acted on the belief,
eyond what he could descry nothing what-
isted; and he mistrusted, dreaded, and even
all who had an ampler visual range than

and the heart, which strongly recom
to the confidence of the English peopl
scared them by refinements, nor alarm
by any sympathy with improvements
old and beaten track; and he shared
their favourite national prejudices.
adherent of the Crown, and a pious
Church, he was dear to all who ce
revels by libations to Church and Ki
whom regard the clergy as of far mor
than the gospel—all of whom are well
posed to set the monarch above the l
this, the accidental qualification of hig
family excessively attached to the Co
Establishment, and still more the real
adorned his character; a domestic
stain, an exemplary discharge of th
devolve on the father of a numerou
punctual performance of all his obligat
per which, though quick and even i
generally good, a disposition charitab
where the rancour of party or sect le
free scope. From all sordid feelings
tirely exempt—regardless of pecunia

reless of mere fortune—aiming at power alone and only suffering his ambition to be restrained its intermixture with his fiery zeal for the sucss of his cherished principles, religious and civil. he whole character thus formed, whether intelctual or moral, was eminently fitted to command e respect and win the favour of a nation whose rejudices are numerous and deep-rooted, and whose gard for the decencies of private life readily ccepts a strict observance of them as a substitute r almost any political defect, and a compensation r many political crimes.

The eloquence of Mr. Perceval, any more than is capacity, was not of the highest order; although, ke his capacity, it was always strenuously exerted, d sometimes extremely powerful. He was a rson of acute and quick rather than of great culties. At the bar his success was assured, if had not deviated into politics; giving a rival that mistress which is jealous to excess of the st infidelity in her suitor. The nimbleness of nd and industry of application which then disguished him he brought into the House of Commons; and differing from other lawyers, he was ways so lively as to be heard without any effort a place far enough from being enamoured with e gown. As Attorney-General to Mr. Addington, and bearing almost the whole burthen of the equal debate, while the forces of Fox, Pitt, and

the emergency—gained him the greatest
as a ready and a powerful debater. W
the profession in 1807, and taking the
House of Commons, he appeared as
nister in all but name, and afterwards,
of Portland's death, had the title with t
of Premier, his success was inferior;
not for some time act up to the reput
he had gained in the subordinate an
fessional station.

But the debates upon the Regency
when he fought, almost single-handed,
royal prerogative against constitutional
with the prospect of the Regent being
opponent, as his original connexion
Caroline had made him his implacab

d zealous champion the minister had

His manner of speaking, familiar ck, lively, smart, yet plain upon the offending no one by figures or by tropes, ingly popular in the House of Com- the dullest have no dislike to an acute eader, so he be not over brilliant and was a man of business too in all his of living and of speaking; opening a of finance or regulation, with as great would reply to a personal attack: above antry in debate well fitted him for a hoever might quail before a powerful or faint under the pressure of a bad ke fright in a storm of popular con- even indignation, he was none of these; ouder raged the tempest, so much the the voice that called his forces toge- nited them for the work of the day, face the enemy or to weather the gale. 809, when the firmness of the Royal the Ministry was sorely tried, but above a pattern of morality, a strict observer es, a somewhat intolerant exactor of ers, of him who, beyond all men, must it hard to face the moral or religious of the whole country, roused by the for a moment torn rudely aside which covered over the tender immoralities

of Royal life—even then the person most li
be struck down by the blast was the first
it, and to struggle on manfully through the
of that difficult crisis, as if he had never spo
the Church, and the moral law, and wiv
children, and domestic ties, and the profli
courts,—as if the people, of all sects and all
were looking on, the calm spectators of a
nary debate. The public voice rendered
this occasion the justice ever done to m
show in performing their duty that they h
courage to disregard clamour, and to rely
their reputation as a shield against misco
tion. No stain rested upon his character f
gallant defence of the Duke of York; an
who were successful in attacking the fair
the Prince, failed in all their attempts to
his official defender. In the next Session,
Parliament with a Ministry crippled by t
of both Mr. Canning's eloquence, and Lord
reagh's manly courage, and long experi
affairs,—met it too, after such a signal calam
never before had attended any failure of t
vernment in its military operations. But h
presented the same undaunted front to all
and having happily obtained the co-ope
Lord Wellesley, and continuing to enjoy
nefit of his illustrious brother's victories, h
triumphed over all opposition, until the

desertion of his friends seemed to give
party a lease of their places during his

minent person's career was cut short while
idst of the most difficult struggle of all in
was fated to engage. The influence of
d Mr. Stephen over his mind was un-
Agreeing on all political questions, and
he strength of their religious feelings, al-
he one leant towards the High Church
d the other was a Low Churchman, upon
ions connected with neutral rights, he in
al manner deferred to the opinion of him
ofessional life had been chiefly passed in
ssion of them. Accordingly the measure
ders in Council devised by him was readily
by the minister, who, never giving either
ort or his opposition by halves, always
nself into any cause which he espoused
nuch zeal as if it were his own. Add to
earty and deep-rooted hatred of Napoleon
regarded with the true feelings of the
s he accurately represented their national
s—the scorn of the Americans, whom he
vith the animosity peculiar to all the cour-
George III.—his truly English feeling in
obtaining through the war a monopoly of
, and bringing into London and Bristol
erce of the world—all these desires were

gratified, and these feelings indulged, by a sys
which, under the mask of retaliation upon Fran
professed to extinguish, or to absorb into our o
commerce, the trade of all the neutrals wh
France had oppressed in order to injure us;
Mr. Perceval thus became as strenuous a champ
of this unjust and preposterous plan as its aut
himself. In 1808 he had prevailed with Parliam
to give it a full trial; and in four years, instead
collecting all the trade of the world into Engla
it had effectually ruined whatever Napole
measures had left of our own.

Accordingly, a motion was carried at the en
April, 1812, for examining the question in a co
mittee of the whole house, and in taking the
dence which was adduced to show the ruin
effects of the system, he with Mr. Stephen
night after night the principal part. As they
hoped that the clamour out of doors would sub
if time were given, the struggle always was to
off the inquiry, and thus to protract the decis
and Messrs. Brougham and Baring, who conduc
it, with some difficulty prevailed so far as to
the examination of the witnesses exactly at
past four o'clock. On the 11th of May, Mr P
ceval had been later than the appointed time,
after complaining of this delay, Mr. Brou
at a quarter before five, had called his first wit
and was examining him, when a messenger depe

ing the minister met him walking towards
ouse with Mr. Stephen arm-in-arm. He
itly, with his accustomed activity, darted for-
to obey the summons, but for which Mr.
en, who happened to be on his left side,
l have been the victim of the assassin's blow,
i prostrated Mr. Perceval as he entered the
. The wretched man, by name Bellingham,
o kind of quarrel with him; but complained
uit at St. Petersburgh having been neglected
ir ambassador there, Lord Granville, whom
ended to have destroyed had not Mr. Perceval
first in his way. He never attempted to
e; but was taken, committed, tried, con-
ed, executed, dissected, all within one week
the time that he fired the shot. So great an
ge upon justice never was witnessed in modern
; for the application to delay the trial, until
nce of his insanity could be brought from
pool, was refused, and the trial proceeded,
both the court, the witnesses, the jury, and
eople, were under the influence of the feelings
ally excited by the deplorable slaughter of
f the most eminent and virtuous men in any
of the community.

has been said already that Mr. Perceval was
nperfectly educated and very narrow minded.
as the slave of violent prejudices, and had
made any effort to shake them off, or to

mitigate them by instructing himself in any
branches of learning out of his own professio
only that he had the ordinary portion of c
learning which all English gentlemen acq
their early youth. How amiable soever in
life, he was intolerant of others who differe
him in the proportion of his ignorance, an
mitted the error of all such conscientio
bigoted men, the forgetting that those of o
sentiments have exactly the same excuse f
yielding obstinacy that they have for rooted
towards adverse doctrines. They feel all th
of intolerance, but make no kind of allowan
others feeling somewhat of the fire which b
fiercely within themselves.

LORD GRENVILLE.

[illegible] two eminent per[illegible] we[illegible]
[illegible] speaking, were Mr. [illegible]
[illegible]tical adherents, though of a[illegible]
[illegible] Lord Grenville was of [illegible] lo-
[illegible]wed his fortune during the eventful [illegible]od of the
[illegible]lesced opposition and the first F[illegible]h war, left
[illegible]ce with him in 1801, nor quitted him until he
[illegible]nented to resume it in 1804, preferring place to
[illegible]aracter, and leaving the Whigs, by whose help
[illegible] had overthrown the Addington Administration.
[illegible]rom that moment Lord Grenville joined the
[illegible]hig party, with whom to the end of his public
[illegible]e he continued to act.

A greater accession to the popular cause and
[illegible]e Whig party it was impossible to imagine, unless
[illegible]r. Pitt himself had persevered in his desire of
[illegible]joining the standard under which his first and
[illegible]oblest battles were fought. All the qualities in
[illegible]hich their long opposition and personal habits
[illegible]ade them deficient, Lord Grenville possessed in
[illegible] eminent degree; long habits of business had

matured his experience and disciplined
rally vigorous understanding; a life
regular had surrounded him with the res
countrymen, and of those whom the dazzli
of others could not blind to their loo
sities or idle habits; a firm attachm
Church as by law established attracte
him the confidence of those who subscr
doctrines and approve its discipline;
tried prudence and discretion were a bal
wanted against the opposite defects of
party, and especially of their most
leader.

After Mr. Grattan, it would be difficu
out any person to whom the great and fu
question of Irish Policy, and the cause o
liberty in general, was so much indebte
Grenville;* while, in the sacrifices

* The plan of this work of course precludes
at least all detailed reference, to the conduct an
of living statesmen. But for this an ample fie
opened, in which to expatiate upon the transcen
of Lord Grey, and the ample sacrifices whic
during the greater part of his political life, to th
the interests of the Irish people. Lord Wellesl
in the same cause, it is also, for the same reason
to enter upon, further than to remind the read
having almost begun life as the advocate of
claims, he, and after him Lord Anglesey,
example to succeeding Viceroys of ruling Irel
most perfect justice to all parties, and holding

de to it, he certainly much exceeded Mr. Grat-
, himself. He was enabled to render this valu-
e service to his country, not more by his natural
lities, which were of a very high order—sound
gment, extraordinary memory, an almost pre-
natural power of application—and by the rich
res of knowledge which those eminent qualities
d put him in possession of, than by the acci-
ntal circumstances in his previous history and
sent position—his long experience in office,
ich had tried and matured his talents in times
unexampled difficulty—his connexion with Mr.
t, both in the kindred of blood and of place, so
l fitted to conciliate the Tory party, or at all
nts to disarm their hostility, and lull their sus-
tions—above all, the well-known and steady
chment of himself and his family to the prin-
les and the establishment of the Church of
gland.

When, therefore, he quitted power with Mr.
t in 1801, rather than abandon the Catholic
ancipation, the carrying of which had only a
r before been held out as one of the principal
ects of the Union; and when, in 1804, he
emptorily refused to join Mr. Pitt in resuming
ce, unless a ministry should be formed upon a

vour even, with a steady hand, between Catholic and
estant, Churchman and Dissenter.

basis wide enough to comprehend the W
the cause of liberal, tolerant principles,
all, the Irish question, gained an able
whose alliance, whether his intrinsic o
qualities were considered, might justly b
beyond all price. The friends of civil
gious liberty duly valued this most im
cession; and the distinguished states
they now accounted as one of their mo
champions, and trusted as one of their
leaders, amply repaid the confidence
him, by the steady and disinterested
which, with his characteristic integrity
ness, he gave to the cause. Taking
Mr. Fox, and placed at the head of th
ment, upon the death of that great man
torily, and with bare courtesy, rejec
overtures of the King to separate from
and rejoin his ancient allies of the P
Soon afterwards, in firm union with th
of the Fox party, he carried the Abolit
Slave Trade, and retired from power,
bind himself not to press the Catholic
pation upon the narrow-minded though
tious Prince whom he served. Continu
alliance with the Whigs, he shared with
frowns of the Court and the habitual
from office which has, for the most part,
portion in public life. Nor can it be d

rance with which he abided by his
inions in favour of the Catholic Ques-
prevented him from presiding over the
his country, during, at the least, twenty
ı life. They who have come to the aid
al cause only when its success made an
it the road to Court favour, with all
niments of profit and of power, have a
nt account of mutual obligation to settle
country, from that which Lord Gren-
at any time since his retirement have
but disdained ever even to hint at.
who, after his powerful advocacy, his
ntegrity, his heavy sacrifices, had all
the Irish question, have come forward
ıe good work, and have reaped every
tification from doing their duty, instead
a sacrifice of their interests like him,
well, while they usurp all the glory of
ıses, to recollect the men whose labours,
ith proscription, led the way to com-
insignificant exertions, still more bene-
he individuals that made them, than
us to the cause they served.
lowments of this eminent statesman's
all of a useful and commanding sort—
, steady memory, vast industry. His
ıts were in the same proportion val le
;—a thorough acquaintance with b

pondus in verbis! Quam nihil non considerat exibat ex ore! Sileamus de isto, ne augeam dolorem. Nam et præteritorum recordatio acerba, et acerbior expectatio reliquorum."*

* Cicero, Brutus, 266.

MR. GRATTAN.

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e name which we mentioned as superior to even rd Grenville in services to the Irish question, alls to mind one of the greatest men of his —Henry Grattan.

It would not be easy to point out any statesman patriot, in any age of the world, whose fame nds higher for his public services; nor is it sible to name any one, the purity of whose utation has been stained by so few faults, and lustre of whose renown is dimmed by so few perfections. From the earliest year at which could appear upon the political stage, he de-ed himself to state affairs. While yet in the me of youth, he had achieved a victory which nds at the head of all the triumphs ever won by atriot for his country in modern times; he had cted an important revolution in the Govern-nt, without violence of any kind, and had broken ins of the most degrading kind, by which the stice and usurpation of three centuries had nd her down. Her immediate gratitude placed in a situation of independence, which enabled

him to consecrate the remainder of his days
service, without the interruption arising fro
fessional pursuits; and he continued to perse
the same course of patriotism marked by
union of the moderation which springs from
bined wisdom and virtue, with the firmn
the zeal which are peculiar to genius. No
partisan, making devotion to the public
convenient and a safe mask for the attain
his selfish interests, whether of sordid avaric
crawling ambition, ever found in Grattan
an instrument or an accomplice. No true
of the people, inspired with a generous d
extirpating abuses, and of extending the
freedom, ever complained of Grattan's slow
join the untarnished banner of patriotism
advocate of human improvement, filled w
sacred zeal of enlarging the enjoyments or
ing the condition of mankind, was ever dam
his aspirations by Grattan's coldness, or had
to wish him less the advocate of Ireland an
the friend of his species.

The principal battle which he fought
native country required him to embrace
great and difficult question of domestic poli
the misrule and oppression exercised by E
over the Irish people extended to all the
mercial dealings, as well as to their political
and sought to fetter their trade by a comp

of vexatious regulations, as well as to awe islators by an assumption of sovereignty, npose the fetters of a foreign jurisdiction e administration of justice itself. In no this vast and various field were Mr. Grat- vers found to fail, or his acquirements to ficient; and he handled the details of fiscal nercantile policy with as much accuracy reat address as he brought to the discus- he broader and easier though more mo- subject—the great question of National lence. He was left, on the achievement reat triumph, in possession of as brilliant tion as man could desire; and it was un- y any one act either of factious violence, rsonal meanness, or of the inconsistency ich overmuch vehemence in the pursuit of rthy objects is wont to betray even the rtuous men. The popular favour which ed to so unexampled a degree, and in such red profusion, was in a short time destined an interruption, not unusual in the history lar leaders; and for refusing to join in the of a more than doubtful origin, of men in reputation of every kind, and of a more ıbtful honesty—men who proscribed as un- of the people's esteem all that acknow- ny restraints of moderation—he lived to self denounced by the factious, reviled by

the unprincipled, and abandoned by their dup the bulk of the very nation whose idol he had lately been.

The war with France, and the fear of revo tionary movements at home, rendered him some years an alarmist; and he joined with th who supported the hostilities into which Mr. E and the Portland seceders from the Whig pa unhappily plunged the empire. But he carri his support of arbitrary measures at home a v short way, compared with the new allies of Government in England; and the proceedings the Irish Ministry, during and after the Rebellio found in him an adversary as uncompromising in the days of his most strenuous patriotism, most dazzling popularity. Despairing of succ by any efforts of the party in Parliament, joined in the measure of secession adopted by English Whigs, but after a manner far more conciliable to a sense of public duty, as well as more effective in itself, than the absurd and inc sistent course which they pursued, of retaining office of representatives, while they refused to p form any of its duties, except the enjoyment of personal privileges. Mr. Grattan and the lead of the Irish opposition vacated their seats at on and left their constituents to choose other de gates. When the Union was propounded, th again returned to their posts, and offered a re

ose to that measure, which at first proved successful, and deferred for a year the accomplishment of a measure planned in true wisdom, though executed by most corrupt and corrupting means —a measure as necessary for the well-being of reland as for the security of the empire at large. He entered the Imperial parliament in 1805, and ontinued, with the exception of the question upon he renewal of the war in 1815, a constant and ost powerful coadjutor of the Whig party, reusing office when they came into power upon Mr. itt's death, but lending them a strenuous support pon all great questions, whether of English poy or of Irish, and showing himself most conicuously above the mean and narrow spirit that ould confine a statesman's exertions to the quesons which interest one portion of the empire, or ith which his own fame in former times may ave been more peculiarly entwined.

Among the orators, as among the statesmen of is age, Mr. Grattan occupies a place in the foreost rank; and it was the age of the Pitts, the 'oxes, and the Sheridans. His eloquence was of very high order, all but of the very highest, and t was eminently original. In the constant stream f a diction replete with epigram and point, a ream on which floated gracefully, because naturlly, flowers of various hues,—was poured forth e closest reasoning, the most luminous statement,

the most persuasive display of all the motiv
could influence, and of all the details tha
enlighten, his audience. Often a different
was heard, and it was declamatory and vehe
or pity was to be moved, and its pathos was
ing as it was simple—or, above all, an ad
sunk in baseness, or covered with crimes,
be punished or to be destroyed, and a storm
most terrible invective raged, with all the bl
sarcasm, and the thunders of abuse. The cri
away for the moment, and unable to do mo
feel with the audience, could in those cases
when he came to reflect and to judge, find
nothing to reprehend; seldom in any case
than the excess of epigram, which had yet
so natural to the orator, that his argument
narrative, and even his sagacious unfolding o
ciples, seemed spontaneously to clothe the
in the most pointed terseness, and most a
felicitous antitheses. From the faults of his
try's eloquence he was, generally speaking
Occasionally an over-fondness for vehem
pression, an exaggeration of passion, or an o
appeal to Heaven, might be noted; very r
loaded use of figures, and, more rarely s
figures broken and mixed. But the pe
striving after far-fetched quaintness; the dis
to say any one thing in an easy and natural
the contempt of that rule, as true in rhetor

hat it is wise to do common things in the
way; the affectation of excessive feeling
hings, without regard to their relative
e; the making any occasion, even the
d to rouse genuine and natural feeling, a
ortunity of theatrical display—all these
y which so many oratorical reputations
. blighted among a people famous for
ost universal oratorical genius, were
in vain when Mr. Grattan rose, whether
ate of his native country, or in that to
was transferred by the Union. And if
ne peculiarity of outward appearance, as
awkward person, in which he resembled
f orators, and even of manner, in which
ot, like him, made the defects of nature
evere culture; so had he one excellence
ry highest order, in which he may be
to have left all the orators of modern
ind—the severe abstinence which rests
vith striking the decisive blow in a word
ot weakening its effect by repetition and
,—and another excellence higher still, in
orator of any age is his equal, the easy
us flow of most profound, sagacious, and
rinciples, enunciated in terse and striking,
priate language. To give a sample of
peculiarity would be less easy, and would
ore space; but of the former it may be

truly said that Dante himself never conjur[illegible] striking, a pathetic, and an appropriate im[illegible] fewer words than Mr. Grattan employed to d[illegible] his relation towards Irish independence, w[illegible] luding to its rise in 1782, and its fall twent[illegible] later, he said, "I sat by its cradle—I follo[illegible] hearse."

In private life he was without a stain, [illegible] of temper or of principle; singularly ami[illegible] well as of unblemished purity, in all the r[illegible] of family and of society; of manners as [illegible] generosity as they were free from affectat[illegible] conversation as much seasoned with spirit [illegible] pregnated with knowledge as it was void [illegible] asperity and gall. Whoever heard him in [illegible] society, and marked the calm tone of his ju[illegible] counsel, the profound wisdom of his sagacio[illegible] servations, the unceasing felicity of his expre[illegible] the constant variety and brilliancy of his [illegible] trations, could well suppose that he had co[illegible] with the orator whose wit and whose wisdo[illegible] lightened and guided the senate of his co[illegible] but in the playful hilarity of the compani[illegible] unbroken serenity, his unruffled good nat[illegible] would indeed have been a difficult thing to [illegible] nise the giant of debate, whose awful energ[illegible] been hurled, nor yet exhausted, upon the [illegible] the Duigennans, and the Floods.*

* It is always a matter of difficulty to draw the [illegible]

signal failure of the latter, when trans-
l to the English Parliament, suggests a
ce to the same passage in the life of Mr.
n. Men were variously inclined to conjec-
on his probable success; and the singularity
external appearance, and his manner of
g, as well as his action, so unusual in the
ı Parliament, made the event doubtful, for
me, during his speech of 1805. Nor were
vanting those surrounding Mr. Pitt who
l "that it would not do." That great de-
ınd experienced judge is said to have for
ıoments partaken of these doubts, when the
execution of some passage, not perhaps
by the audience at large, at once dispelled
and he pronounced to his neighbours an
tative and decisive sentence, which the una-
voice of the House and of the country
th affirmed.

son who belongs to another, and, in some parti-
ı very different country. This has been felt in
the attempt to give a sketch of Mr. Grattan; and
has read the most lively and picturesque piece of
ıy that was ever given to the world, Mr. C. Phil-
collections of Curran, will join in the regret here
d, that the present work did not fall into hands so
perform it in a masterly manner. The constant
ın consequent upon great professional eminence, has
ately withdrawn him from the walks of literature,
ı he was so remarkably fitted to shine.

This illustrious patriot died a few days af
arrival in London, at the beginning of June
having come with the greatest difficulty, an
dying state, to attend his Parliamentary
A request was made to his family, that his re
might be buried in Westminster Abbey, inst
being conveyed for interment to Ireland; an
having been complied with, the obsequies
attended by all the more distinguished mem
both Houses of Parliament. The following
containing the request was signed by the
of the liberal party. The beauty of its
composition was much and justly admired
time; but little wonder was excited by it,
the author came to be known. It proceeded
the pen of one of the greatest poets who
country has produced, as well as one of its
prose writers; who to this unstable fame ad
more imperishable renown of being also one
most honourable men, and most uncompro
friends of civil and religious liberty, who ha
peared in any age. The rare felicity of our
in possessing two individuals to whom this de
tion might be applied,—Rogers and Campb
alone makes it necessary to add that the for
here meant.

"TO THE SONS OF MR. GRATTAN.

"Filled with veneration for the charac
your father, we venture to express a wish, co

to us with many of those who most admired and loved him, that what remains of him should be allowed to continue among us.

"It has pleased Divine Providence to deprive the empire of his services, while he was here in the neighbourhood of that sacred edifice where great men from all parts of the British dominions have been for ages interred. We are desirous of an opportunity of joining in the due honour to tried virtue and genius. Mr. Grattan belongs to us also, and great would be our consolation were we permitted to follow him to the grave, and to place him where he would not have been unwilling to lie—by the side of his illustrious fellow-labourers in the cause of freedom."

MR. WILBERFORCE.

Contemporary with Lord Grenville and M
whose intimate friend he was, and whose
for a time, appeared a man, in some respec
illustrious than either—one who, among th
est benefactors of the human race, holds an
station — one whose genius was elevated
virtues, and exalted by his piety. It is
tunately, hardly necessary to name one w
vices and the follies of the age have alre
ticularized, by making it impossible that w
been said could apply to any but Wilberfor

Few persons have ever either reached a
and more enviable place in the esteem
fellow creatures, or have better deserved th
they had gained, than William Wilberfor
was naturally a person of great quickness a
subtilty of mind, with a lively imaginati
proaching to playfulness of fancy; and h
had wit in an unmeasured abundance, an
its varieties; for he was endowed with an e
sense of the ludicrous in character, the fo
of humour, as well as with the perceptio

ɜ resemblances, the essence of wit. These ities however he had so far disciplined his lties as to keep in habitual restraint, lest he ıld ever offend against strict decorum, by intro- ng light matter into serious discussion, or be ayed into personal remarks too poignant for feelings of individuals. For his nature was l and amiable beyond that of most men; fearful iving the least pain in any quarter, even while ed with the zeal of controversy on questions roused all his passions; and more anxious, if ere possible, to gain over rather than to over- er an adversary and disarm him by kindness, he force of reason, or awakening appeals to his ngs, rather than defeat him by hostile attack. natural talents were cultivated, and his taste ıed by all the resources of a complete Cam- ge education, in which, while the classics were lously studied, the mathematics were not neg- ɜd; and he enjoyed in the society of his inti- ɜ friends, Mr. Pitt and Dean Milner, the addi- ıl benefit of foreign travel, having passed nearly ar in France, after the dissolution of Lord .burne's administration had removed Mr. Pitt ı office. Having entered Parliament as mem- for Hull, where his family were the principal mercial men of the place, he soon afterwards, ı the ill-fated coalition destroying all con- ıce in the Whig party, succeeded Mr. Foljambe

as member for Yorkshire, which he contin
represent as long as his health permitted
having only retired to a less laborious seat
year 1812. Although generally attached
Pitt ministry, he pursued his course whol
fettered by party connexion, steadily refus
office through his whole life, nor would lay
self under any obligations by accepting a s
patronage; and he differed with his illu
friend upon the two most critical emergen
his life, the question of peace with France in
and the impeachment of Lord Melville ten
later.

His eloquence was of the highest order.
persuasive and pathetic in an eminent degree
it was occasionally bold and impassioned, an
with the inspiration which deep feeling alo
breathe into spoken thought, chastened by
taste, varied by extensive information, enrich
classical allusion, sometimes elevated by the
sublime topics of Holy Writ—the thoughts
spirit

"That touch'd Isaiah's hallow'd lips with fire."

Few passages can be cited in the ora
modern times of a more electrical effect th
singularly felicitous and striking allusion
Pitt's resisting the torrent of Jacobin prin
—"He stood between the living and the

and the plague was stayed." The singular kindness, the extreme gentleness of his disposition, wholly free from gall, from vanity, or any selfish feeling, kept him from indulging in any of the vituperative branches of rhetoric; but a memorable instance showed that it was anything rather than the want of power which held him off from the use of the weapons so often in almost all other men's hands. When a well-known popular member thought fit to designate him repeatedly, and very irregularly, as the "*Honourable and religious gentleman*," not because he was ashamed of the Cross he gloried in, but because he felt indignant at any one in the British senate deeming piety a matter of imputation, he poured out a strain of sarcasm which none who heard it can ever forget. A common friend of the parties having remarked to Sir Samuel Romilly, beside whom he sat, that this greatly outmatched Pitt himself, the great master of sarcasm, the reply of that great man and first observer was worthy to be remarked,—"Yes," said he, "it is the most striking thing I almost ever heard; but I look upon it as a more singular proof of Wilberforce's virtue than of his genius, for who but he ever was possessed of such a formidable weapon, and never used it?"

Against all these accomplishments of a finished orator there was little to set on the other side. A feeble constitution, which made him say, all his

life, that he never was either well or ill ;
sweetly musical beyond that of most men
great compass also, but sometimes degen
into a whine ; a figure exceedingly undigni
ungraceful, though the features of the fa
singularly expressive ; and a want of conde
in the latter years of his life, especially,
into digression and ill calculated for a ve
ness-like audience like the House of Com
these may be noted as the only drawback
kept him out of the very first place am
first speakers of his age, whom, in pathos,
in graceful and easy and perfectly elegant
as well as harmonious periods, he unques
excelled. The influence which the Mem
Yorkshire always commanded in the old
ment—the great weight which the head,
the founder, of a powerful religious sect, p
in the country—would have given extra
authority in the senate to one of far infer
sonal endowments. But when these part
dental circumstances were added to his
and when the whole were used and appli
the habits of industry which naturally bele
one of his extreme temperance in every
it is difficult to imagine any one bringing a
force to the aid of any cause which he u
pouse.

Wherefore, when he stood forward as th

e Abolition, vowed implacable war against
ry and the Slave Trade, and consecrated his
o the accomplishment of its destruction, there
every advantage conferred upon this great
, and the rather that he held himself aloof
party connexion. A few personal friends,
l with him by similarity of religious opinions,
t be said to form a small party, and they ge-
ly acted in concert, especially in all matters
ng to the Slave question. Of these, Henry
nton was the most eminent in every respect.
was a man of strong understanding, great
rs of reasoning and of investigation, an accu-
and a curious observer, but who neither had
ated oratory at all, nor had received a refined
tion, nor had extended his reading beyond
ubjects connected with moral, political, and
ogical learning. The trade of a banker, which
llowed, engrossed much of his time; and his
ons both in Parliament and through the
were chiefly confined to the celebrated con-
rsy upon the currency, in which his well-
n work led the way, and to a bill for restrict-
he Slave Trade to part of the African coast,
n he introduced when the Abolitionists were
ed out with their repeated failures, and had
nigh abandoned all hopes of carrying the
measure itself. That measure was fated to
go much vexatious delay, nor is there any

great question of justice and policy, [illegible]
which is less creditable to the British [illegible]
or, indeed, to some of the statesmen of [illegible]
although upon it mainly rests the fam[illegible]

When Mr. Wilberforce, following [illegible]
son's track, had, with matchless pe[illegible]
quence, sustained by a body of the [illegible]
dence, unveiled all the horrors of a [illegible]
had it been attended with neither ham[illegible]
of any kind, was, confessedly, from [illegible]
end, not a commerce but a crime, he [illegible]
by large majorities, year after year [illegible]
length, for the first time, in 1804, [illegible]
Abolition Bill through the Common[illegible]
immediately threw it out; and the [illegible]
was again lost in the Commons. [illegible]
pened while the opinion of the coun[illegible]
the single exception of persons havin[illegible]
connexions, unanimous in favour of [illegible]
At different times there was the stron[illegible]
general expression of public feeling [illegible]
ject, and it was a question upon which [illegible]
endowed with reason, could possibly d[illegible]
admitting whatever could be alleg[illegible]
profits of the traffic, it was not denied [illegible]
proceeded from pillage and murder; [illegible]
this, that the enormous evil contin[illegible]
the country and its legislature for [illegible]
although the voice of every statesm[illegible]

nence, l . e] was strenu-
ously lifted against it,— , upon this only
question, Pitt, Fox, l e heartily agreed,—
although by far the ll Mr. Pitt's speeches
were those which l unced against it,—and
although every pres and every pulpit in the island
habitually cried it down. How are we, then, to
account for the extreme tenacity of life which the
hateful reptile showed?—how to explain the fact
that all those powerful hands fell paralysed and
could not bring it to death? If little honour re-
bounds to the Parliament from this passage in our
history, and if it is thus plainly shown that the
unreformed House of Commons but ill represented
the country, it must also be confessed that Mr.
Pitt's conduct gains as little glory from the retro-
spect. How could he, who never suffered any of
his coadjutors, much less his underlings in office,
to thwart his will even in trivial matters—he who
would have cleared any of the departments of half
their occupants, had they presumed to have an
opinion of their own upon a single item of any
budget, or an article in the year's estimates—how
could he, after shaking the walls of the Senate with
the thunders of his majestic eloquence, exerted
with a zeal which set at defiance all suspicions of
his entire sincerity, quietly suffer, that the object,
most before declared the dearest to his heart, should
be ravished from him when within his sight, ,

within his reach, by the votes of the secr
and under-secretaries, the puisne lords an
other fry of mere placemen, — the pawns
board? It is a question often anxiously p
the friends of the Abolition, never satisfa
answered by those of the Minister; and
additional comment were wanting on the d
passage of his life, it is supplied by the ea
which he cut off the Slave traffic of the con
colonies, an importation of thirty thousand
which he had so long suffered to exist, tho
order in Council could any day have exting
it. This he never thought of till 1805, and
of course, the instant he chose, he destroyed
ever with a stroke of his pen. Again, wh
Whigs were in power, they found the total
tion of the traffic so easy, that the measure,
suing which Mr. Pitt had for so many long
allowed himself to be baffled, was carried by
with only sixteen dissentient voices in a bo
250 members. There can then, unhappily,
one answer to the question regarding Mr.
conduct on this great measure. He was, no
quite sincere, but he was not so zealous a
anything, to sacrifice anything, or even
himself any extraordinary trouble for th
plishment of his purpose. The Court
cidedly against abolition; George III.
regarded the question with abhorrence, as

g of innovation,—and innovation in a part of empire connected with his earliest and most ted prejudices,—the Colonies. The courtiers k, as is their wont, the colour of their senti- nts from him. The Peers were of the same nion. Mr. Pitt had not the enthusiasm for ht and justice, to risk in their behalf losing the ndship of the mammon of unrighteousness; and left to his rivals, when they became his suc- sors, the glory of that triumph in the sacred se of humanity, which should have illustrated name, who in its defence had raised all the ins of his eloquence to their very highest ch.

MR. CANNING.

When Mr. Pitt, in 1784, stood against the un
powers of the Coalition by the support of the co
and the people, in debate he had only Mr. Dun
and occasionally Mr. Wilberforce, to whom he co
look for assistance while attacked by Fox, Bur
North, Sheridan, Erskine, Windham. But
younger race afterwards grew up and came to
assistance; and of these Mr. Canning was undou
edly the first. He was in all respects one of
more remarkable persons who have lived in o
times. Born with talents of a high order, th
had been cultivated with an assiduity and succ
which placed him among the accomplished sch
lars of his day; and he was only inferior
others in the walks of science, from the acced
of the studies which Oxford cherished in his ti
being pointed almost exclusively to classical pu
suits. But he was anything rather than a m
scholar. In him were combined lively origi
fancy—a happily retentive and ready memory
singular powers of lucid statement—and occasio
ally wit in all its varieties, now biting and sarca

ney, if not to overwhelm an antagonist—
pungent or giving point to an argument—
playful for mere amusement, and bringing
to a tedious statement, or lending a charm
y chains of close reasoning—Erant ea in
po quæ, qui sine comparatione illorum
ret, satis magna dixerit; summa libertas in
ne, multæ facetiæ; satis creber in reprehen-
, solutus in explicandis sententiis; erat etiam
mis, ut temporibus illis, Græcis doctrinis insti-
in altercando cum aliquo aculeo et maledicto
s.—(Cic., *Brutus.*) Superficial observers,
d by this brilliancy, and by its sometimes
over-indulged, committed their accustomed
ke, and supposed that he who could thus adorn
bject was an amusing speaker only, while he
elping on the argument at every step,—often
g skilful statements perform the office of rea-
, and oftener still seeming to be witty when
s merely exposing the weakness of hostile
ons, and thus taking them by the artillery of
it. But in truth his powers of ordinary rea-
were of a very high order, and could not
celled by the practised master of dialectics.
rather in the deep and full measure of im-
ned declamation in its legitimate combination
rapid argument, the highest reach of oratory,
e failed; and this he rarely attempted. Of his
s of argumentation, his capacity for the dis-

cussions of abstract science, his genius for ad
the least attractive subjects, there remains
perishable record in his celebrated speeches
the "Currency," of all his efforts the most b
and the most happy.

This eminent person was for the most p
the slave of mean or paltry passions, except
flowed from his irritable and impatient te
but a lofty ambition inspired him; and h
not too early become trained to official habi
would have avoided the distinguishing and
error of his life, an impression which clu
him from the desk, that no one can usefully
his country, or effectually further his princ
unless he possesses the power which place
bestows. The traces of this belief are to be
in many of the most remarkable passages o
life; and it even appears in the song with
he celebrated the praise of his illustrious
and friend; for he treats as a fall Mr. Pitt's
fleing power to principle, at a time when, by
ing from office, he had earned the applau
millions. Mr. Canning himself gave an ex
equally signal of abandoning office rather
tarnish his fame; and no act of his life ex
cited which sheds a greater lustre on his me
than his retiring from the Government rather
bear a part in the proceedings against the Qu

In private society he was amiable and attra

cussions of abstract science, his ge
the least attractive subjects, there
perishable record in his celebrate
the "Currency," of all his efforts t
and the most happy.

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the slave of mean or paltry passio
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bestows. The traces of this belief
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life; and it even appears in the
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and friend; for he treats as a fall
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millions. Mr. Canning himself ga
equally signal of abandoning offi
tarnish his fame; and no act of
cited which sheds a greater lustre
than his retiring from the Govern
bear a part in the proceedings agai

In private society he was amiabl

though, except for a very few years of his early youth, he rarely frequented the circles of fashion, confining his intercourse to an extremely small number of warmly attached friends.* In all the relations of domestic life he was blameless, and was the delight of his family, as in them he placed his own.† His temper, though naturally irritable and uneasy, had nothing petty or spiteful in it; and as no one better knew how and when to resent, so none could more readily or more gracefully forgive.

It is supposed that, from his early acquaintance with Mr. Sheridan and one or two other Whigs, he originally had a leaning towards that side of the question. But he entered into public life at a very early age, under the auspices of Mr. Pitt, to

* It is necessary to state this undoubted fact, that the folly of those may be rebuked who have chosen to represent him as "a great diner-out." It may be safely affirmed that none of those historians of the day ever once saw him at table.

† It is well known how much more attachment was conceived for his memory by his family and his devoted personal friends than by his most staunch political adherents. The friendships of statesmen are proverbially of rotten texture; but it is doubtful if ever this rottenness was displayed in a more disgusting manner than when the puny men of whose nostrils he had been the breath, joined his worst enemies as soon as they had laid him in the grave. It was said by one hardly ever related to him but in open hostility, that "the gallantry of his kindred had rescued his memory from the offices of his friends,"—in allusion to Lord Clanricarde's most powerful and touching appeal on that disgraceful occasion.

of the difference between Reforms, of which admitted the necessity, and Revolution, against risk of which he anxiously guarded. He had joined Mr. Pitt on the Catholic question, while yet the war raged, he had rendered incalculable service to the cause of Emancipation, by voting to it some of his most brilliant efforts the House of Commons. This, and the accid of a contested election in a great town brought him more in contact with popular feelings opinions, contributed to the liberal course of po which he afterwards pursued on almost all subje Upon one only question he continued firm and bending; he was the most uncompromising adv sary of all Parliamentary Reform,—resisting the least change in the representative system, holding that alteration once begun was fatal to integrity.* This opposition to reform became main characteristic of the Canning party, and regulated their conduct on almost all questi Before 1831, no exception can be perceived in th hostility to reform, unless their differing with

* During the short period of his brilliant administra the question of disfranchising a burgh, convicted of corruption, gave rise to the only difference between him Mr. Brougham, who was understood to have mainly co buted towards that junction of the Whigs and liberal To which dissolved and scattered the old and high Tory pa and a division took place in which Mr. Canning was feated.

of Wellington on East Retford can be re-
l as such; but, in truth, their avowed reason
pporting that most insignificant measure was,
he danger of a real and effectual reform might
y be warded off. The friends of Mr. Canning,
n 1818, had been joined by Lord Melbourne,*
ued steady to the same principles, until hap-
n the formation of Lord Grey's government,
ntirely changed their course, and became the
ates, with their reforming colleagues, of a
e, compared to which the greatest reforms
contemplated by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, or
nced by Mr. Burke and Mr. Canning, hardly
e to be classed among measures of innovation.
e can pronounce with perfect confidence on
nduct which any statesman would have pur-
had he survived the times in which he flou-
. But if such an opinion may ever with
be formed, it seems to be in the present case;
would require far more boldness to surmise
Mr. Canning, or even Mr. Huskisson, would
continued in the government after the 1st of
, 1831, than to affirm that nothing could

ord Melbourne differed with the rest of the Canning
n this point. He always opposed Reform, but held
any was to be granted, it must be in an ample mea-
and he did not vote with them, but with the govern-
on the Retford question, although he resigned with
pon that occasion.

ever have induced such an alteration in the
fixed opinions upon so momentous a question

But while such was the strength of his op
—prejudices as they seem,—on one great
on almost all other matters, whether of for
domestic policy, his views were liberal, and
to the spirit of the age, while he was a fir
porter of the established constitution of the co
If ever man was made for the service and
vation of a party, Mr. Canning seemed
been raised up for that of the Tories: if ever
committed a fatal error, it was their
groundless distrust and unintelligible dis
estrange him from their side. At a time
nothing but his powerful arm could recall
their camp, and save them from impending
tion, they not merely wilfully kindled the
Achilles, but resolved that he should no long
on their side, and determined to throw aw
last chance of winning the battle. To him
general assent preferred Lord Castlereagh
leader, without a single shining quality ex
carriage and the manners of high birth: wh
Canning, but for his accidental death, wo
ended his life as governor of a country wh
neither debate, nor write; where eloquence
rates in scores of paragraphs, and the spark
wit and the cadence of rhyme are alike un

The defects of Mr. Canning's character

though not trifling, were not many, nor
lifficult to discover. His irritable temper
m noted: he had a love of trifling and a
s for indulging in pleasantry, more in-
to his estimation with ordinary men than
is infirm temper. Nothing could be more
than that one who so much excelled
in these lighter, more brilliant, but hardly
ole qualities, should be prone to exercise
vermuch; but they greatly marred the effect
more solid and important talents. Above
y enlarged the circle of his enemies, and
nally transferred to it the friends whom they
n. With the common run of ordinary mor-
o compose the mass of every country—with
iner sort of men who form the bulk of every
e, and who especially bear sway in their own
ed place, the assembly that represents the
n people,—it would have been contrary to
if one so lively, so fond of his joke, so care-
om his merriment might offend, so ready to
e general laugh against any victim,—had
opular, nay, had failed to prove the object
icion, and even dislike. The duller portion
hose heads his lighter missiles flew, were
d with one who spoke so lightly; it was
personal to them if he jested, and a classical
n was next thing to an affront. "He will
ghing at the quorum or talking metaphysics

next," said the squire, representing
even they who emulated him and favo
did not much like the man who had
merry, for they felt what it was that
at, and it might be their own turn to

That his oratory suffered very mate
self-indulgent habit, so hard to resi
possesses the faculty of amusing his
can scarcely pause at the moment th
ing it successfully, it would be incor
The graver parts of his discourse
sustained; they were unmixed with
were quite as powerful in themselves
not stood out from the inferior matte
soared above it. There is no doubt,
with an unreflecting audience, their e
what confused by the cross lights w
occasionally bordering upon drolle
the canvass. But his declamation,
powerful, always beautifully ornate
cient in admirable diction, was certa
highest class. It wanted depth: it
mouth, not from the heart; and it t
filled the ear rather than penetrat
of the listener. The orator never se
himself and be absorbed in his theme
carried away by his passions, and h
his audience along with him. An
fore us, a first-rate one no doubt, but

l we never forgot that it was a representation we re witnessing, not a real scene. The Grecian ist was of the second class only, at whose fruit the ds pecked: while, on seeing Parrhasius' picture, s cried out to have the curtain drawn aside. Mr. ning's declamation entertained his hearers, so ntly was it executed; but only an inexperienced dic could mistake it for the highest reach of the torical art. The truly great orator is he who ries away his hearer, or fixes his whole attention the subject—with the subject fills his whole soul han the subject, will suffer him to think of no er thing—of the subject's existence alone will him be conscious, while the vehement inspira- n lasts on his own mind which he communicates his hearer—and will only suffer him to reflect on admirable execution of what he has heard after burst is over, the whirlwind has passed away, the excited feelings have in the succeeding lull k into repose.

The vice of this statesman's public principles was ch more pernicious in its influence upon his dic conduct than the defects which we have just arked were upon his oratory. Bred up in office n his early years, he had become so much accus- ed to its pleasures that he felt uneasy when y were taken from him. It was in him not ardid propensity that produced this frame of d. For emolument, he felt the most entire in-

ture, attaching him strongly to his as
strongly fixed their affections upon hi
feel uneasy at their exclusion from p
sirous to possess the means of grat
Above all, though a great debater, a
the air of Parliament as the natural e
being, he yet was a man of action to
sway the counsels as well as shake t
his country. He loved debate for it
his brilliant faculties; he loved power
sake, caring less for display than
tion. Hence, when he retired from of
dispute with Lord Castlereagh, (a p
life much and unjustly blamed at t
which, had it been ever so exactly as m
viewed it, has in later times been

d in retirement, even made him consent to heme of more permanent expatriation,* which he unhappy death of Lord Castlereagh pre- l from taking effect. But these were rather affecting the person than perverting the ples, or misguiding the conduct of the party. nfortunate love of power, carried too far, and as to make the gratification of it essential to nce, is ruinous to the character of a states- It leads often to abandonment of principle, ntly to unworthy compromise; it subjects frequent dependence; it lowers the tone of nd, and teaches his spirit to feed on the bitter of others' bounty; above all, it occasionally him from his natural friends, and brings cquainted with strange and low associates, natures, as their habits, are fit objects of his and who have with him but one thing in com- that they seek the same object with himself— or love of gain, he for lust of dominion.

"Tu lascerai ogni cosa diletta
Piu caramente, e questo e quello strale
Che l' arco d' esilio pria saetta;
Tu proverai come si sa di sale
Lo pane d' altrui, e come e duro calle
Lo scendere e il salir altrui scale,
E che il più ti gravera le spalle
Sara la compagnia malvagia e scempia
Che tu vedrai in questa valle!" †

Governor-General of India. † Dante, Par. xvii.

To quit the objects loved most tenderly;
This is the shaft that Exile first lets fly.
Then shalt thou prove how bitter tastes t
Of others' bounty, and how hard to tread
Another's stair; and, from thy kindred t
Herd with the vilely bred, and basely be
Ingratitude, impiety, mad rage!
With all of these prepare thee to engage!

Men are apt to devise ingenious excuse
failings which they cherish most fondly, a
cannot close their eyes to them, had rat
than correct. Mr. Canning reasoned hi
a belief which he was wont to profess, th
can serve his country with effect out of
if there were no public in this country;
were no Parliament; no forum; no p
the Government were in the hands of
whom the Turk had given his signet
favourite to whom the Czarina had tossed
kerchief; as if the patriot's vocation had
the voice of public virtue were heard no
if the people were without power over th
and only existed to be taxed and to obey
pernicious notion never entered the mind
man, nor one more fitted to undermine
virtue. It may be made the cloak for ev
of flagitious and sordid calculation; and w
was only a sophistical self-deception, or a
sion of dangerous self-love, might have b
common herd of trading politicians, used a

'ery low, and despicable, and unprincipled arti-
No errors are so dangerous as those false
ies of morals which conceal the bounds between
and wrong; enable Vice to trick herself out
attire of Virtue; and hide our frailties from
lves by throwing around them the garb of
und wisdom.

e havoc which this unceasing desire of place
in Mr. Canning had always been observed by
who saw his public conduct. But when his
saries railed against him as a perpetual and
s intriguer, the charge coming in the com-
of others known to be false against Mr. Pitt,
'ery naturally set down among the list of mere
inventions. The late publication of Lord
nesbury's papers, however, must be admitted to
no small support to this view of Mr. Canning's
acter. Certainly, the account of his intrigues
st Mr. Addington must lower him in the esti-
on of all men; and it rests upon evidence
ly above suspicion, Lord Malmesbury seeing in
nothing but what is good, and being his warm
orter; but indeed the proof is found under
Canning's own hand. It would not be easy
d anything of a more paltry kind in all the
ry of political intrigue, than the attempt to drive
Addington from office by a manifesto against
only unsigned because Mr. Canning could get
ne but a friend of his own to sign it; and

designed, he says himself, to be presented
"prescript" (as he terms it), stating t
names were ready to be affixed," there
two such names thus ready. Nothing ca
striking than the contrast which Mr. Pitt
at this period offered to Mr. Canning's:
nified, frank, forbearing; kindly towards
those he had some right to complain of
kindly to Mr. Canning himself, though
he disapproved of his proceedings, and w
ingly impatient under his ceaseless im
Indeed he was compelled to give him
one repulse; and he even appears to have
seeing him at Walmer, that he might be
vexatious activity. Of course, no one co
the pitiful affair of the unsigned manif
venture upon disclosing it to such a ma
Pitt.

It is truly to be lamented that Mr. P
not have kept himself as much aloof fr
like and anti-Gallican zeal of Mr. Canni
thus did from his thirst for office. The
treat with Napoleon in 1800 must have
from that influence against which he was
his guard; for it was wholly at variance
his former conduct.*

* The portion of the Malmesbury Correspond
referred to is vol. iv. p. 103, 104, p. 119, 120,
Lord Malmesbury carried the low intrigue also

Of Mr. Canning it may be justly observed, as of Mr. Fox, that whatever errors he committed on other questions, on the Abolition of the Slave Trade he was undeviatingly true to sound principles and enlightened policy. Respecting the questions connected with Emancipation his course was by no means so commendable, and in resisting the motion in the Missionary's case, 1824, he acted culpably as well as feebly indeed; but of the Abolitionists he was at once a strenuous and effective ally. It is understood that he deeply lamented the contrast which Mr. Pitt's proceedings on this great question presented to his speeches; and he insisted on bringing forward a motion against the policy of capturing colonies to extend the Slave-traffic, when Mr. Pitt was in retirement.

step further; at least he described it more fully as intended, concealing the poverty of the names subscribed, to operate as a threat and a deceptious threat. Mr. Pitt's uneasiness under Mr. Canning's restless impatience for office appears in a striking manner. He plainly alludes to him and his operations when he complains of the "zeal and the schemes of selfish people," and describes how he is "disgusted and tired," as well as "beset by them."

SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY

How different from Mr Pitt's conduct was
Lord Grenville, who no sooner acceded to
1806, than he encouraged all the measures
first restrained, and then entirely abolished
infernal traffic, the slave-trade! The crown
yers of his administration were directed to
a bill for abolishing the foreign slave-trade
colonies, as well as all importation into the
quered settlements—and when it is recollected
Sir Samuel Romilly at that time added lustre
gave elevation to the office of solicitor-general
may well be supposed that those duties were
fully and duly followed both by him and
honest, learned, and experienced colleague
Arthur Pigott. It is fit that no occasion on
Sir Samuel Romilly is named should ever be
over without an attempt to record the virtue
endowments of so great and so good a man,
instruction of after ages.

Few persons have ever attained celebrity
and exalted station, in any country, or in any
with such unsullied purity of character,

nnent and excellent person. His virtue
and inflexible, adjusted, indeed, rather to
ous standard of ancient morality than to
mbitious and less elevated maxims of the
ode. But in this he very widely differed
antique model upon which his character
appeared to be framed, and also very far
it, that there was nothing either affected
ve about him; and if ever a man existed
d more than any other have scorned the
peries which disfigured the worth of Cato,
hrunk from the harsher virtue of Brutus,
was that man. He was, in truth, a person
st natural and simple manners, and one in
e kindliest charities and warmest feelings
nature were blended in the largest mea-
that firmness of purpose and unrelaxed
of principle, in almost all other men
be little compatible with the attributes
tle nature and the feelings of a tender

server who gazes upon the character of
t man is naturally struck first of all with
prominent feature, and that is the rare ex-
which we have now marked, so far above
t of the understanding, and which throws
e of mere genius into the shade. But his
was of the highest order. An extraordi-
h of thought; great powers of attention

and of close reasoning; a memory quick and
tive; a fancy eminently brilliant, but kept
fect discipline by his judgment and his taste,
was nice, cultivated, and severe, without any
squeamishness so fatal to vigour—these w
qualities which, under the guidance of th
perseverring industry, and with the stimulu
lofty ambition, rendered him unquestionab
first advocate, and the most profound law
the age he flourished in; placed him high
the ornaments of the Senate; and would,
likelihood, have given him the foremost
among them all, had not the occupations
laborious profession necessarily engrossed a
portionate share of his attention, and made p
pursuits fill a subordinate place in the sch
his life. *Jurisperitorum disertissimus, dise
vero jurisperitissimus.* As his practice, so
thority at the bar and with the bench was u
pled; and his success in Parliament was gr
progressive. Some of his speeches, both f
and Parliamentary, are nearly unrivalled in
lence. The reply, even as reported in 11
junior, in the cause of *Hugonin* v. *Beasley*,*
legal matters chiefly were in question, may

* A case very near resembling this, *Maude* v
was argued in the House of Lords in October, 1831
O'Connell, and his argument was a masterpiece,
to the judgment of those who heard it.

idea of his extraordinary powers. The last
ı that he pronounced in the House of Com-
upon a bill respecting the law of naturaliza-
which gave him occasion to paint the miscon-
of the expiring Parliament in severe and even
colours, was generally regarded as unexampled
the efforts of his eloquence; nor can they
ecollect its effects ever cease to lament with
d bitterness of sorrow, the catastrophe which
nated his life and extinguished his glory, when
effect that the vast accession to his influence
being chosen for Westminster, came at a time
his genius had reached its amplest display,
s authority in Parliament, unaided by station,
tained the highest eminence. The friend of
virtue, and the advocate of human improve-
will mourn still more sorrowfully over his
an the admirers of genius, or those who are
d by political triumphs. For no one could
Romilly, and doubt that, as he only valued
n success and his own powers, in the belief
hey might conduce to the good of mankind,
h augmentation of his authority, each step of
ogress, must have been attended with some
ph in the cause of humanity and justice.
he would at length, in the course of nature,
ased to live; but then the bigot would have
to persecute—the despot to vex—the deso-
or to suffer—the slave to groan and tremble

—the ignorant to commit crimes—and the
trivel law to engender criminality.

On these things all men are agreed; b
more distinct account be desired of his elo
it must be said that it united all the more
graces of oratory, both as regards the man
the substance. No man argued more closel
the understanding was to be addressed; no
claimed more powerfully when indignation
be aroused or the feelings moved. His la
was choice and pure; his powers of inve
sembled rather the grave authority with wh
judge puts down a contempt, or punishes an
than the attack of an advocate against his ad
and his equal. His imagination was the
whose services were rarely required, and
mastery was never for an instant admitte
sarcasm was tremendous, nor always very
employed. His manner was perfect, in
figure, in a countenance of singular beau
dignity; nor was anything in his oratory
striking or more effective than the heartfel
rity which it throughout displayed, in to
tion, in tone, in look, in gesture. "In
oratione sapientis hominis et recti, gravitas
et naturalis quædam inerat auctoritas, non
sam, sed ut testimonium dicere putares. S
bat enim non prudentiam solum, sed, quod
rem continebat, fidem."*

* Cic., *Brutus.*

nsidering his exalted station at the bar, his and unsullied character, and the large space he filled in the eye of the country, men na- y looked for his ascent to the highest station profession of which he was, during so many the ornament and the pride. Nor could any nestion that he would have presented to the the figure of a consummate judge. He alone ny doubt upon the extent of his own judicial ies; and he has recorded in his journal (that lable document in which he was wont to set freely his sentiments on men and things) a t opinion, expressing his apprehension, should er be so tried, that men would say of him *pax imperii nisi imperasset.*" With this exception, offering so rare an instance of im- l self-judgment, and tending of itself to its efutation, all who had no interest in the ele- of others, have held his exclusion from the ne place in the law, as one of the heaviest in the price paid for the factious structure of ractical government.

his private life and personal habits he exhi- a model for imitation, and an object of un- ied esteem. All his severity was reserved for orum and the senate, when vice was to be l, or justice vindicated, the public delinquent ed, or the national oppressor overawed. In mily and in society, where it was his delight,

either France or England,—the perf
of his taste, refined to such a pitch t
was one of no ordinary power, and his
once or twice only he wrote poetry,
merit,—his freedom from affectation,—
of not being above doing ordinary
ordinary way,—all conspired to rend
peculiarly attractive, and would h
courted even had his eminence in h
been far less conspicuous. While it
ing of one political adversary, the mo
and correct observer* among all the p
men of his time, that he never was ou
while Romilly spoke, without finding
cause to lament his absence,—it was
of all who were admitted to his pr

defects are required to be thrown into such a
h, and are deemed as necessary as the shades
picture, or, at least, as the more subdued tones
me parts for giving relief to others, this por-
re of Romilly must be content to remain im-
et. For what is there on which to dwell for
e, if it be not a proneness to prejudice in
r of opinions resembling his own, a blindness
e defects of those who held them, and a pre-
ssion against those who held them not? While
is so very little to censure, there is unhappily
to deplore. A morbid sensibility embittered
r hours of his earlier life, and when deprived
e wife whom he most tenderly and justly
l, contributed to bring on an inflammatory
, in the paroxysm of which he untimely met
nd.

e Letter of Mr. Brougham, on Abuse of Cha-
, was communicated in manuscript to him
e attending the sick bed of that excellent per-
whose loss brought on his own. It tended to
ile some of those sorrowful hours, the subject
ng long deeply engaged his attention; and it
the last thing that he read. His estimate of
erits was exceedingly low; at least he said he
sure no tract had ever been published on a
dry subject, or was likely to excite less atten-

The interest of the subject, however, was
h undervalued by him; for the letter

through eight editions in the month of Oc
ber.*

That he highly approved of the labours of t
Education Committee, however, and that the co
duct of its Chairman shared fully in his approv
there can be no doubt. In the last will which
made, there is a warm expression of personal reg
and a strong testimony to public merits, acco
panying a desire that his friend would join w
another whom he had long known intimately, a
whom he consequently most highly and most ju
esteemed, Mr. Whishaw, in performing the off
of literary executor. The manuscripts which
left were numerous and important. The most
teresting are the beautiful Sketches of his early l
and the Journal to which reference has alre
been made. But his commentaries upon subje
connected with jurisprudence are those of
greatest value; for they show that most of the
forms of which he maintains the expediency, ha
since his decease been adopted by the Legislatu
and they thus form a powerful reason for adopti
those others which he recommends, and which
not now less favoured by the general opinion

* The last book of any importance read by him was
Hallam's first great work, of which he justly formed
highest opinion and recommended the mar[illegible]
it to the author of the letter, as a contrast to that pe[illegible]
ance, in respect of the universal interest of the subject.

mankind, than were the former class at the early period when he wrote. The injunction to his friends contained in his will, was truly characteristic of the man. He particularly desired them, in determining whether or not the manuscripts should be published, only to regard the prospect there was of their being in any degree serviceable to mankind, and by no means to throw away a thought upon any injury which the appearance of such unfinished works might do to his literary character. Whoever knew him, indeed, was well persuaded that in all his exertions his personal gratification never was for a moment consulted, unless as far as whatever he did, or whatever he witnessed in others, had a relish for him exactly proportioned to its tendency towards the establishment of the principles which formed, as it were, a part of his nature, and towards the promotion of human happiness, the grand aim of all his views. This is that colleague and comrade whose irreparable loss his surviving friends have had to deplore, through all their struggles for the good cause in which they had stood by his side; a loss which each succeeding day renders heavier, and harder to bear, when the misconduct of some, and the incapacity of others, so painfully recall the contrast of one whose premature end gave the first and the only pang that had ever come from him; and all his associates may justly exclaim in the words of Tully regard-

ing Hortensius, "Augebat etiam molestiam, magnâ sapientium civium bonorumque penuri egregius, conjunctissimusque mecum consil omnium societate, alienissimo reipublicæ te extinctus, et auctoritatis, et prudentiæ sua nobis desiderium reliquerat: dolebamque, quo ut plerique putabant, adversarium, aut obt torem laudum mearum, sed socium potius e sortem gloriosi laboris amiseram."

And here for a moment let us pause. We been gazing on the faint likenesses of many men. We have been traversing a Galle either side of which they stand ranged. We made bold in that edifice to "expatiate and the State affairs" of their age. Cognizant history, aware of the principles by whic English chiefs are marshalled, sagacious springs that move the politic wheel whose m tions we contemplate, it is an easy thing for comprehend the phenomenon most remarkabl sented by those figures and their arrangement are we led to stare aghast at that which astound any mind not previously furnished the ready solution to make all plain and gible. But suppose some one from another sphere, or another world, admitted to the sp

find so familiar, and consider what would
st effect upon his mind—"Here," he
, "stand the choicest spirits of their age;
est wits, the noblest orators, the wisest
s, the most illustrious patriots. Here
l, whose hands have been raised for their
whose magical eloquence has shook the
hose genius has poured out strains worthy
ration of the gods, whose lives were de-
the purity of their principles, whose
were bequeathed to a race grateful for
eceived from their sufferings and their
Here stand all these 'lights of the
l demigods of fame;' but here they stand
ed on one side of this Gallery, having
common country! With the same bright
their view, their efforts were divided, not
hey fiercely combated each other, and not
assailed some common foe; their great
were bestowed, their more than mortal
re expended, not in furthering the general
in resisting their country's enemies, but
ts among themselves; and all their tri-
ere won over each other, and all their
were endured at each other's hands!"—
" the unenlightened stranger would add,
y that I survey, or a troubled vision that
y sight? Am I indeed contemplating the
men amongst a rational people, or the

Coryphei of a band of mimes? O
admitted to survey the cells of som
pointed for the insane; or is it, pe
vaults of some Pandemonium throu
eyes have been suffered to wander
nches, and my brain is disturbed?"

Thus far the untutored native of a
wild on earth, or the yet more igno
of some world, remote "beyond the
milky way." We know more;
things better. But let us, even in
enlightened wisdom, pause for a mo
on this most anomalous state of
arrangement of political affairs wh
cally excludes at least one-half of
of each age from their country's s
votes both classes infinitely more to
conflict with one another than to
general good. And here it may
once that nothing can be less corr
view, who regard the administration
practically in the hands of only one-h
whilst the excluded portion is sole
thwarting their proceedings. Th
both Parties is exerted, and the mo
state machine partakes of both
pressed upon it; neither taking th
the one nor of the other, but a third
both. This concession, no doubt,

·evil; but it is very far indeed from removing
Why must there always be this exclusion, and
conflict? Does not every one immediately
ceive how it must prove detrimental to the
lic service in the great majority of instances;
how miserable a make-shift for something
ter and more rational it is, even where it does
re good than harm? Besides, if it requires a
stant and systematic opposition to prevent mis-
f, and keep the machine of state in the right
h, of what use is our boasted representative
ernment, which is designed to give the people
ontrol over their rulers, and serves no other
pose at all? Let us for a moment consider the
gin of this system of Party, that we may the
ter be able to appreciate its value and to com-
hend its manner of working.

The Origin of Party may be traced by fond
orists and sanguine votaries of the system, to a
ical difference of opinion and principle; to the
lem sentire de republicâ" which has at all times
shalled men in combinations or split them in
ositions; but it is pretty plain to any person of
inary understanding, that a far less romantic
and of union and of separation has for the most
t existed—the individual interests of the parties;
idem velle atque idem nolle; the desire of
ver and of plunder, which, as all cannot share,
h is desirous of snatching and holding. The

history of English party is as certainly that of a few great men and powerful families on the one hand, contending for place and power, with a few others on the opposite quarter, as it is the history of the Plantagenets, the Tudors, and the Stuarts. There is nothing more untrue than to represent principle as at the bottom of it; interest is at the bottom, and the opposition of principle is subservient to the opposition of interest. Accordingly, the result has been, that unless perhaps where a dynasty was changed, as in 1688, and for some time afterwards, and excepting on questions connected with this change, the very same conduct was held and the same principles professed by both Parties when in office and by both when in opposition. Of this we have seen sufficiently reasonable instances in the course of the foregoing pages. The Whig in opposition was for retrenchment and for peace; transplant him into office, he cares little for either. Bills of coercion, suspensions of the constitution, were his abhorrence when propounded by Tories; in place, he propounded them himself. Acts of indemnity and of attainder were the favourites of the Tory in power: the Tory in opposition was the enemy of both. The grave charge ever brought by the Whig against his adversary was the personal proscription of an exalted individual to please a King; the worst charge that the Tory can level against the Whig is

t of a proscription still less justifiable to
a Viceroy.

annot surely in these circumstances be deemed
dinary that plain men, uninitiated in the
cratic Mysteries whereof a rigid devotion to
forms one of the most sacred, should be apt
a very different connexion between principle
tion from the one usually put forward; and
thout at all denying a relation between the
lngs, they should reverse the account gene-
given by Party men, and suspect them of
up principles in order to marshal them-
in alliances and hostilities for their own
ts, instead of engaging in those contests
s of their conflicting principles. In a word,
seems some reason to suppose that interest
really divided them into bands, principles
ofessed for the purpose of better compassing
bjects by maintaining a character and gain-
s support of the people.

t to a certain degree this is true, we think
rdly be doubted, although it is also impos-
o deny that there is a plain line of distinction,
n the two great Parties which formerly pre-
in this country upon one important point,
ndations and extent of the Royal Prerogative.
at this line can now be traced it would be
to pretend. Mr. Pitt, and even Lord North,
o other opinions respecting kingly power

Mr. Fox or Mr. Burke; and the rival friends
Robert Filmer and Mr. Locke were as obs
during the American war as they are at this
Then have not men, since Jacobitism and
the Right were exploded, generally adopted
dous upon the practical questions of the day in
h a manner as to let them conveniently co-
rate with certain acts of statesmen and oppo
hers; join some family interests together in ord
o counterbalance some other family intere
ague themselves in bodies to keep or to
power in opposition to other bands formed wi
similar view? This surely will not, upon a
review of the facts, be denied by any one
judgment is worth having.

Observe how plainly the course pursued
class dictates that to be taken by the other.
must be combinations, and there must be
tions; and therefore things to differ upon
as things to agree upon, must needs b
Thus, the King is as hostile as bigotry an
can make him to American liberty, and
sters support him in the war to crush
throws the opposition upon the liberal
question, without which they can n
together nor continue to resist the
any man so blind as seriously to beli
Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox been the
George III. they would have resign

t down the Americans? If so, let him
eyes, and ask himself another simple ques-
nst Minister would ever volunteer his
dismember the empire? But if that fails
ce him, let him recollect that the Ameri-
had raged for years before the word
ion" crossed the lips of any man in
use of Parliament—all the attacks were
n the ill-treatment of our fellow-subjects,
mismanagement of the war; the Whigs
ave been more kind rulers and better
but only in order to prevent the last of
s—Separation and Independence. Nay,
Party being now in power, have avowed
Canada the very principles upon which
rth carried on the former contest. The
ay perhaps allege that they have of late
e consistent.

another instance. While the Whigs were
fice, the same King's bigotry refused to
te the Roman Catholics. It would be a
ning to hold, that the Party which was
istinguished for its hatred of Romanism,
h had founded its power of old on the
ws, must of necessity have taken an op-
w of this question because circumstances
ged and those laws had become unneces-
because the King, supposing them to have
servants, would have adhered to the ancient

Whig tenets. But when, in opposition t
they found some millions ready to rally a
Court, and saw their adversaries, the M
the day, siding with the King, they never
a moment in taking their line, and fo
lantly till the battle was won. Without
that the altered view of the question w
caused by the position of Parties, and d
the Ministers taking the other line, we m
assert, without any fear of contradiction,
promptitude with which the change was
the leaders is traceable to this source;
their having the power to make their l
and enlightened followers in the country
doing violence to their most rooted preju
in no other way be accounted for than by
to the operation of Party tactics. In
operation alone can explain the phenome
two great factions having changed sid
whole question; the Tories taking the
now which the Whigs did in the days of t
the Marlboroughs, the Godolphins, and
earlier, in the times of the Russells and th
The solution of the enigma is to be fou
in the accidental circumstance of the Part
at the two different periods been in opp
tions – the Whigs in power at one time,
at the other, and the Crown holding
course in each case. The only other ch

t exists to modify this conclusion, is, that the
ciples of the Whig families at the Revolution
to their being in power; although it would be
old thing to assert that, if the Tory families
been preferred, through some accident of per-
al favour, by William and Anne, the Whig
lies then in opposition would have supported
penal code; or even that, if George I. had
ned his back upon them, and courted their ad-
aries, they would have kept quite clear of
obite connexions, which some of the most dis-
guished, as it was, are well known to have
med.

Nor is there much reason to suppose that had
Parties changed positions in 1792, the Whigs
ld, as a matter of course, have been against the
r. Half the Party were found to be the most
nuous advocates of a rupture with France, and
ir accession to office as a body followed this
wal. The whole could not pursue the same
rse; and Mr. Pitt having unhappily declared
war, the opposition was for peace. If any one
s very confident that the great men whom we
e been contemplating in their glorious resistance
that ruinous contest, would have maintained
se at all hazards, including a quarrel with the
stocracy and the Court, had they been George
's Ministers, we beseech him to consider how
e disposed they showed themselves, after Mr.

tt's death, to make sacrifices for the great object
pacification, and how forward they were in grati-
ing the King's prejudices on Hanover, which
heir new leader declared was as much a British
interest as Hampshire. One thing is certain enough
—had the Whigs joined the King and the aristo-
cracy in making war, Mr. Pitt would have bee
as strenuous an apostle of peace as ever preach
that holy word.

If the new line of distinction which now sep
the two sets of men be observed, little doubt
be cast upon our former conclusions. The o
for reform, the other against it. But the old W
Party were always very lukewarm reformers;
section of them were its most bitter enemies
rest, with few exceptions, its very temperate
porters. Even Mr. Fox's reform of Parli
would have gone into a mighty narrow co
But there rests no kind of doubt on this as
other principles having been rather the conse
than the cause of Party distinctions; for wh
Pitt in opposition, and afterwards in office,
forward the question, he received a very
and divided support from the Whigs; and
part of the Government which carried the
in 1831, and of the late Reform Gov
are Tories who had before been strenu
posed to all changes whatever in our par
system. That the same Ministry of 183

stantially Whig, and carried the question by a far greater effort than ever Mr. Pitt made for its advancement, is not to be doubted. But their influence, nay their existence depended upon it: they gained more by it, as a Party, than by any other course they could have gained. This then can form no exception whatever to the position that, when parties are formed mainly for the purpose of obtaining and retaining power, they adopt principles, and act upon them, with a view to serve this main object of the Party union. The people in a country like this have their weight as well as the Court and the aristocracy, and their opinions and feelings must be consulted by Party leaders in order to gain their support. Whatever insincerity there may be in the latter, however they may be suspected of professing opinions for the purpose of their policy, the people can have no such sinister motives. Hence a Party may take popular ground when in opposition with a view of defeating the Court, and it may also take the same ground in office to fortify itself again a hostile Court or a generally unfriendly aristocracy.

This induction of facts is incomplete, if the *instantia negativa*, the converse proof, be wanting, of cases where great principles not espoused by parties, nor made matter of Party manœuvring, have had a different fate. Unhappily there are comparatively very few questions of importance

which have enjoyed this exemption. One of the greatest of all, however, the Slave-Trade, is of the number; the Abolition having been first taken up by Thomas Clarkson, a Foxite in opinion, and in Parliament by Mr. Wilberforce, a friend of Mr. Pitt (but neither of them Party men), was never made the subject of Party distinction. Accordingly, the men of both sides were divided on according to the colours of their real opinions, not of their Party differences: nor was it either supported or opposed by the marshal strength of faction. The doctrines of Free Trade and the amendment of the Criminal Law furnish other instances of the same rare description. One can be at any loss to perceive how very recently these questions have been handled from Party ones to which we before adverted. Nor can be at a loss to perceive how much truth gained by the remarkable diversity.

We have hitherto been referring to the great principles,—of general questions; the same will be found to have been the treatment subjects more personal and accidental. After a short co-operation with the Whigs ficed them to the prejudices of the returned to power, while they retired opposition places and habits. If, instead result, the negotiations of 1804 had led tion of the two great Parties, he is

take upon himself to affirm that the
'ould on the Treasury Bench have read
Vincent's famous Tenth Report with the
s which glared upon Lord Melville from
ite side of the House, and conducted them
ıpeachment of that Minister a few months
.s. Again, the greatest personal question
distracted rather than divided the country,
reatment of the Queen in 1820. Had the
ıen been in office under George IV., as
e in the habits of Party connexion with
906, would they have been so strenuous in
his favourite Bill of Pains and Penalties?
be a very adventurous thing to assert
of the kind, when we recollect how un-
y they lent themselves in 1806 to the first
on of the ill-fated Queen by the "Delicate
.tion," as it was most inappropriately
hich they conducted in secret and behind
of the accused. The Tories were then
ition to the Prince and to the Whig mi-
ınd they bitterly denounced that secret
ıg. Who can doubt that had the Whigs
been the ministers and proposed the Bill,
have found as strenuous opposition from
ıs as this Bill found from the Whigs? But
ft to our conjectures upon this point? No
.ter. The Tories were afterwards in opposi-
ɔ Whigs in office; and a bill of attainder

has been defended by the Whigs and op
the Tories, having for its avowed object
men from their country without a trial, c
ing, or even a notice; and accomplish
object by declaring their entrance wit
native land a capital offence. Had the
power brought forward a bill to exile t
without hearing her, and to declare her b
England high treason, we have a right
that the Tories, being in opposition, wo
strenuously resisted such a measure. D
more parallel can hardly be imagined,
was a charge of treason in both; there was
porary absence of the party accused, there
or tumult expected upon that party's retu
was the wish to prevent such a return;
was no desire in either the one case or the
shed a drop of blood, but only a wish to
object by a threat. On the other hand,
Tories any right to affirm that if they had
to be in power when the Canada affairs w
settled, no bills of attainder would h
passed? The forms of law might have b
artificially and skilfully preserved, but
principles of substantial justice would h
better maintained towards Papineau and
herents in 1838 than they were towards
Caroline in 1820, we have no right wh
believe. The Bill of 1820 is the great

ublic character, the worst passage by far in
tory of their Party; and they must have
'hile they assented to its iniquities and
l the country into the most imminent dan-
hat they were yielding to the vilest ca-
of an unprincipled and tyrannical master.
ust not be supposed that those who concur
e general remarks upon Party are pro-
ng a very severe censure upon all public
this country, or placing themselves vainly
eminence removed from strife, and high
ll vulgar contentions—

picere unde queas alios, passimque videre,
are, atque viam palanteis quærere vitæ,
tare ingenio, contendere nobilitate,
teis atque dies niti præstante labore,
summas emergere opes, rerumque potiri.

LUCRET. II.

ame now cast upon politicians affects them
ally; and is only like that which ethical
rs on the selfish theory of morals may be
d to throw upon all human conduct. In
at blame applies not to individuals, but to
tem; and that system is proved to be bad;
ful to the interests of the country, corrupt-
the people, injurious to honest principle,
the very best a clumsy contrivance for
g on the affairs of the State.

partly the result of our monarchical con-
n, in which the prince must rule by in-

has been defended by the Whigs and opposed by the Tories, having for its avowed object to banish men from their country without a trial, or a hearing, or even a notice; and accomplishing the object by declaring their entrance within the native land a capital offence. Had the Whigs in power brought forward a bill to exile the Queen without hearing her, and to declare her landing in England high treason, we have a right to affirm that the Tories, being in opposition, would have strenuously resisted such a measure. Two cases more parallel can hardly be imagined, for there was a charge of treason in both; there was the temporary absence of the party accused, there was a riot or tumult expected upon that party's return, there was the wish to prevent such a return; and there was no desire in either the one case or the other to shed a drop of blood, but only a wish to gain the object by a threat. On the other hand, have the Tories any right to affirm that if they had chance to be in power when the Canada affairs were thus settled, no bills of attainder would have been passed? The forms of law might have been more artifically and skilfully preserved; but that the principles of substantial justice would have been better maintained towards Papineau and his adherents in 1838 than they were towards Queen *Caroline* in 1820, we have no right whatever to believe. The Bill of 1820 is the great blot on

fluence rather than prerogative; but
more to be derived from the aristocra
of the constitution. The great famil
struggles with each other and against
have recourse to Party leagues, and th
from time to time drawn into the co
evils which flow from this manner of
public affairs are manifest. The two
questionably are, first, the loss of so
men to the service of the country, a
devotion of almost the whole powers o
men to party contests, and the devotion
of those men to obstructing the pu
instead of helping it; and next, the
in playing the party game, is made
sacred principles, the duping of the
the assumption of their aristocratic lea
tate their opinions to them. It is a s
of any political machine that it is so
as only to be kept in order by the l
and the conflict of forces which the
faults implies. It is a clumsy and un
ment which can only be effected by th
operation of jarring principles, which
gyrists or rather apologists of these ano
commended. But it is a radical vice i
to exclude the people from forming th
sions, which must, if proceeding from
impulses, be kept in strict accordan

nents, that it is
w if possible still m render
people only tools a of oli-
hy, instead of maki t
ng of the whole engi and
d object of all its operations.

f this we may be well assured, that as Party hitherto been known amongst us, it can only orne during the earlier stages of a nation's po-al growth. While the people are ignorant of r interests, and as little acquainted with their ts as with their duti t be treated by leading factions as hitherto been ted by our own. God be p they are not what they were in the palmy days of factious ocracy, of the Walpoles, and the Foxes, and Pelhams—never consulted, and never thought nless when it was desirable that one mob should l out "Church and King," and another should back "No Pope, and no Pretender." They even made great advances since the close of American war, and the earlier periods of the ch Revolution, when, through fear of the Ca-ics, the library of Lord Mansfield, and through d of the Dissenters, the apparatus of Dr. stley, were committed to the flames. Their ress is now rapid, and their success assured in attainment of all that can qualify them for government, emancipate them from pupilage,

and entitle them to undertake the man
their own affairs. Nor will they any
leading men to make up their opinions
as doctors do the prescriptions which
take, or consent to be the tools and t
Party any more.

Let us now, by way of contrast rather
parison, turn our eye towards som
leaders of mankind in the countries
Party spirit can ever be shown, or f
stances where a great danger threatenin
excludes the influence of faction altogeth
only for a season, and while the pre
nues.

Contemporary with George III., an
statesmen whose faint likenesses we hav
veying, were some of the most celebra
whom either the old or the new worl
duced. Their talents and their fortune
in conflict with those of our own rulers,
of the most memorable occasions whic
ercised the one or affected the other
form no inappropriate appendix to th
sketches, if we now endeavour to port
of those distinguished individuals.

FRANKLIN.

the most remarkable men certainly of our
a politician, or of any age as a philo-
was Franklin; who also stands alone in
ng together these two characters, the
that man can sustain, and in this, that
borne the first part in enlarging science
of the greatest discoveries ever made, he
e second part in founding one of the
empires in the world.

is truly great man everything seems to
that goes towards the constitution of ex-
erit. First, he was the architect of his
tune. Born in the humblest station, he
imself by his talents and his industry,
he place in society which may be attained
e help only of ordinary abilities, great
ion, and good luck; but next to the loftier
which a daring and happy genius alone
e; and the poor Printer's boy, who at one
of his life had no covering to shelter his
m the dews of night, rent in twain the
ominion of England, and lived to be the

Ambassador of a Commonwealth whi
formed, at the Court of the haughty M
France who had been his allies.

Then, he had been tried by prosper
as adverse fortune, and had passed unhu
the perils of both. No ordinary appr
commonplace journeyman, ever laid th
tions of his independence in habits of in
temperance more deep than he did, wh
was afterwards to rank him with the G
the Newtons of the old world. No patr
to shine in Courts, or assist at the C
Monarchs, ever bore his honours in a h
more easily, or was less spoilt by the en
them than this common workman did w
tiating with Royal representatives, or e
all the beauty and fashion of the mo
Court in Europe.

Again, he was self-taught in all he k
hours of study were stolen from those of
of meals, or gained by some ingenious c
for reading while the work of his dai
went on. Assisted by none of the h
affluence tenders to the studies of th
had to supply the place of tutors, by
diligence, and of commentaries, by re
rusal. Nay, the possession of books
obtained by copying what the art which
exercised furnished easily to others.

Next, the circumstances under which others succumb he made to yield, and bent to his own purposes—a successful leader of a revolt that ended in complete triumph after appearing desperate for years; a great discoverer in philosophy without the ordinary helps to knowledge; a writer famed for his chaste style without a classical education; a skilful negotiator, though never bred to politics; rising as a favourite, nay, a pattern of fashion, from the guest of frivolous Courts, the life which had begun in garrets and in workshops.

Lastly, combinations of faculties in others deemed impossible, appeared easy and natural in him. The philosopher, delighting in speculation, was also eminently a man of action. Ingenious reasoning, learned and subtle consultation, were in him combined with prompt resolution, and inflexible firmness of purpose. To a lively fancy, he joined a learned and deep reflection; his original and inventive genius stooped to the convenient alliance with the most ordinary prudence in everyday affairs; the mind that soared above the clouds, and was conversant with the loftiest of human contemplations, disdained not to make proverbs and feign fables for the guidance of apprenticed youths and servile maidens; and the hands that sketched a free constitution for a whole continent, or drew down the lightning from heaven, easily and cheerfully lent themselves to simplify the apparatus by

which truths were to be illustrated, or disc

pursued.

His whole course both in acting and in s
tion was simple and plain, ever preferri
easiest and the shortest road, nor ever hav
course to any but the simplest means to
his ends. His policy rejected all refinem
aimed at accomplishing its purposes by
rational and obvious expedients. His
was unadorned, and used as the medium o
nicating his thoughts, not of raising ad
but it was pure, expressive, racy. His
reasoning was manly and cogent, the
rational being to others of the same ord
concise, that preferring decision to di
never exceeded a quarter of an hour i
address. His correspondence upon b
ther private or on state affairs, is a m
ness and compendious shortness; nor
papers surpass in dignity and impre
which he is believed to have been the
earlier part of the American revol
His mode of philosophising was th
cation of the Inductive principle,
adapted to his nature and so cle
common sense, that we can have
would have been suggested by F
not been unfolded by Bacon, tho
that in this case it would have b

r more simple terms. But of all this great man's ientific excellencies, the most remarkable is the allness, the simplicity, the apparent inadequacy, the means which he employed in his experi-ental researches. His discoveries were made th hardly any apparatus at all; and if, at any ne, he had been led to employ instruments of a newhat less ordinary description, he never rested tisfied until he had, as it were, afterwards trans-ed the process, by resolving the problem with h simple machinery, that you might say he had e it wholly unaided by apparatus. The expe-ents by which the identity of lightning and tricity was demonstrated, were made with a et of brown paper, a bit of twine, a silk thread, l an iron key.

Upon the integrity of this great man, whether public or in private life, there rests no stain. ctly honest, and even scrupulously punctual in his dealings, he preserved in the highest fortune t regularity which he had practised as well as lcated in the lowest. The phrase which he e used when interrupted in his proceedings upon most arduous and important affairs, by a demand me petty item in a long account,—"Thou shalt muzzle the ox that treads out the corn,"—has cited against him as proving the laxity of l ngs when in trust of public money; it plain s the reverse: for he well knew that

country abounding in discussion, and full of personal animosities, nothing could be gai immunity by refusing to produce his vouc the fitting time; and his venturing to use suc guage demonstrates that he knew his conduct really above all suspicion.

In domestic life he was faultless, and in tercourse of society, delightful. There was stant good humour and a playful wit, easy high relish, without any ambition to shin natural fruit of his lively fancy, his solid, good sense, and his cheerful temper, that g conversation an unspeakable charm, and alike every circle, from the humblest to the most el With all his strong opinions, so often solem clared, so imperishably recorded in his de retained a tolerance for those who differed wi which could not be surpassed in men whose ciples hung so loosely about them as to be ta for a convenient cloak, and laid down when to impede their progress. In his family b everything that worth, warm affections, and prudence could contribute, to make a man useful and amiable, respected and beloved. ligion, he would by many be reckoned a la narian; yet it is certain that his mind was with a deep sense of the Divine perfections, stant impression of our accountable nature, lively hope of future enjoyment. According

death-bed, the test of both faith and works, was easy and placid, resigned and devout, and indicated at once an unflinching retrospect of the past, and a comfortable assurance of the future.

If we turn from the truly great man whom we have been contem[illegible] to his celebrated contemporary in the [illegible]rld, who only affected that philosophy tha[illegible] F[illegible]k possessed, and employed his talents [illegible] [illegible]litary [illegible]rs, in extinguishing that [illegible] F[illegible]'s life was consecrat[illegible] to [illegible] is [illegible] indeed, betw[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]ister.

FREDERIC II.

In one particular this celebrated Princ
said to resemble the great Republican. H
years were spent in the school of adversity
ther the influence of this discipline, usuall
pitious to the character of great men, w
in chastening his principles, and in call
and regulating those feelings which the
of a court tends either to stifle or perver
learnt not only from the private histo
reign, but from some anecdotes preserv
conduct immediately after he came to th
while, as yet, his heart could not hav
callous from the habits of uncontrolled
nor his principles unsettled by the cares o
bulent career. When William discovered
plan for escaping from Prussia, he caus
be arrested, together with his confident
De Catt, and instantly brought to trial
military commission. The interposition o
alone saved the prince's life; but he w
into prison at the fort of Custrin, where
was beheaded on a scaffold raised before

the level of the windo
n view this affirm
—[illegible], that

ia t
to his
of William,
upation; his
reatment as hard
by degrees, howe
closely, and he was
r cover of night, by
in the neighbourhood,
able nobleman's family,
greatest kindness, and exp
nt risk on his account.
much of his time, for above
in from the humanity or tre
It was chiefly with music and r
led himself in the gloom of h
e good folks not only furnished h
d candles, but made little concerts for h
venings, when he could escape to enjoy
iety. The young Wrechs (for that was
e of this family) were sufficiently accom-
and sprightly to gain Frederic's esteem.
hted much in their company; and though

they were so numerous, that the baron was he
narrow circumstances by the necessary expen
their maintenance and education, he contrive
straitening himself still more, to scrape tog
supplies of money to the amount of above
thousand rix-dollars, with which he assisted,
time to time, his royal guest.

Such were the obligations which Frederic
during this eventful period of his life, first
House of Austria, whose spirited and decisiv
terference saved him from the scaffold; nex
the unfortunate De Catt, who had sacrificed hi
in the attempt to aid his escape; and, last
the amiable family of the Wrechs, who, at
imminent risk of their lives, and at a certai
pense little suited to their moderate circumsta
had tenderly alleviated the hardships of his
finement. As Frederic mounted the thro
short time after he was set at liberty, we
naturally expect that the impression of fav
like these would outlive the ordinary perio
royal memory. The first act of his reign w
invade the hereditary dominions of Austria,
reduce to the utmost distress the daughter
representative of the monarch whose timely
position had saved his life, by heading a pow
combination against her, after stripping her
invaluable province. The family and relatio
De Catt never received, during the whole o

reign, even a smile of royal favour. To the Wrechs he not only never repaid a kreutzer of the money which they had pinched themselves to raise for his accommodation, but manifested a degree of coldness amounting to displeasure: so that this worthy and accomplished family were in a kind of disgrace during his time, never received well at court, nor promoted to any of the employments which form in some sort the patrimony of the aristocracy. They were favoured by Prince Henry; and all that they could boast of owing to the king was, to use an expression of his most zealous panegyrist, that "*he did not persecute them*" on account of his brother's patronage. His defenders screened his ungrateful conduct behind the Prussian law, which prohibits the loan of money to princes of the blood, and declares all debts contracted by them void. But since the *king* was to govern himself by the enactments of this law, it would have been well if the *prince*, too, had considered them. We have heard of Louis XII. proudly declaring that it was unworthy the King of France to revenge the wrongs of the Duke of Orleans. It was reserved for the unfeeling meanness of Frederic to show us, that the King was not bound by the highest obligations of the Prince of Prussia—that he could shelter himself from the claims of honour and gratitude, by appealing to laws which had been generously violated in his behalf.

But it may be fair to mention the solitary stance of a contrary description, which we find in comparing his conduct on the throne w the favours received during his misfortunes. had been assisted in his musical relaxation Potsdam by the daughter of a citizen, who, w out any personal charms, had the accomplishm most valuable to the prince, secluded as he from all society, and depending for amuse almost entirely on his flute. His father no su heard of this intimacy, than he supposed t must be some criminal intercourse between young amateurs, and proceeded to meet the te passion by the universal remedy which he wa the habit of administering to his subjects. lady was seized, delivered over to the executio and publicly whipped through the streets of P dam. This cruel disgrace, of course, put an to the concerts, and to her estimation in soci When Frederic came to the throne, she was duced to the humble station of a hackney-co man's wife; and, with a rare effort of grati and generosity, he was pleased to settle upon a pension, of very little less than thirty-five po a-year.

There is nothing in the history of his aftre that shows any improvement in the feelings which he began it, and which his own suffe had not chastened, nor the kindness that reli

eam softened. In one of his battles, happening turn his head round he saw his nephew, the Hereditary Prince, fall to the ground, his horse ing killed under him. Frederic, thinking the der was shot, cried, without stopping as he rode st, "Ah! there's the Prince of Prussia killed; t his saddle and bridle be taken care of!"

William Augustus, the King's elder brother, d heir apparent to the crown, had for many ars been his principal favourite. He was a rince of great abilities, and singularly amiable haracter—modest almost to timidity—and repay- g the friendship of Frederic by a more than lial devotion. He had served near his person in ll his campaigns, had constantly distinguished imself in war, and, after the disastrous battle of ollin, was intrusted with the command of half he retreating army. While the King succeeded n bringing off his own division safe into Saxony, he Prince, attacked on all hands by the whole orce of the Austrians, suffered several inconsider- ble losses on his march, and gained the neighbour- ood of Dresden with some difficulty. He was eceived, as well as his whole staff, with the great- st marks of displeasure. For several days the King spoke to none of them; and then sent a nessage by one of his generals—"*Que pour bien faire, il devoit leur faire trancher la tête, excepter u général Winterfeldt.*" The Prince was of too

feeling a disposition not to suffer extreme
this treatment. He addressed a letter to th
in which he stated that the fatigues of t
paign, and his distress of mind, had totally
his health; and received for answer a per
to retire, couched in the most bitter and
ating reproaches. From this time he li
tirely in the bosom of his family, a prey
deepest melancholy, but retaining for the K
sentiments of warm attachment, and respe
dering upon veneration, although never pe
to approach his person. One interview only
the brothers together after their unhapp
ration. The different members of the Royal
during the most disastrous period of the
years' war, when the existence of the H
Brandenburg seemed to depend on a dim
in the number of its enemies, united their
exhorting the King to attempt making such
with France and Sweden as might be co
with the honour of his crown. Prince
was entreated to lay their wishes before him
oppressed as he was with disease, tremb
appear in his brother's presence, scarcely
to hope even a decorous reception, he yet
his duty required this effort, and he suppli
audience. Frederic allowed him to detail
his whole views, and was willing to hear fr
the unanimous prayers of his relations.

efore the King; besought him, conjured
a tears in his eyes, and embraced his knees
the warmth of fraternal affection, and all
ion of the most enthusiastic loyalty. No
t of pity for the cause he pleaded, nor any
his own ancient affection was kindled in
's bosom at so touching a scene. He
silent and stern during the whole inter-
l then put an end to it by these words:
ur, vous partirez demain pour Berlin:
re des enfans: vous n'êtes bon qu'à cela."
ce did not long survive this memorable

as the fate of his favourite brother. The
Amelia was his youngest and most beloved
She was one of the most charming and
shed women in Europe. But after being
y her elder sister, Ulrica, out of a Royal
, which that intriguer obtained for herself,
ell in love with the well-known Baron
who was by her brother shut up in a for-
ten years; and Frederic daily saw pining
ore his eyes his favourite sister, become
l paralysed with mental suffering, and
thout a pang or a sigh, much more with-
ught of relieving it by ceasing to perse-
friend.

; contemplated this monarch in the re-
domestic life, it is now fit that we should

view him among his friends. Of these
absolutely not one whom he did not tre
exemplary harshness, except Jordan, wh
lived only a few years after Frederic ca
throne, while he was too much occupied
to allow him time for mixing with th
society, in which he afterwards vainly
enjoy the pleasures of entire equality, a
always, sooner or later, the King preval
the companion. Of all his friends, the
d'Argens seems to have been the most
and most respectfully attached to his per
the field he was his constant companio
time in winter-quarters was passed in eac
society. At one time the King had no o
fidant; and he it was who turned aside
purpose to commit suicide, when, at t
desperate crisis of his affairs, life had be
bearable. But D'Argens committed the
dom pardoned by any prince, by Frederi
he acted as if he believed his Royal frien
in desiring that they should live on equ
The pretext for finally discarding his anci
panion was poor in the extreme. W
marquis consented to come into Frederic's
and leave his own country, it was upon
press condition that he should have perm
return home when he reached the age of
He had a brother in France, to whom he

attached, and owed many obligations. As
proached this period of life, his brother pre-
a house and establishment for his reception;
ıothing was wanting but the king's leave to
him retire from a service to which he was
ll adapted by his years, and rendered averse
e coldness daily more apparent in the treat-
he received. But Frederic, notwithstanding
argain, and in spite of his diminished attach-
to this faithful follower, peremptorily refused
ant his discharge: he allowed him a sort of
ıgh to see his brother, and took his promise
:urn in six months. When the visit was paid,
:he marquis had arrived at Bourg on his re-
the exertions which he made to get back
n the stipulated time threw him into a dan-
ıs illness. As soon as the six months expired,
:ric, receiving no letter and hearing nothing
n, became violently enraged, and ordered his
ons to be stopped, and his name to be struck
ıe lists with disgrace. The account of these
ɔitate measures reached the marquis as he was
ıe point of continuing his journey after his
ery. And when he died, the king caused a
ment to be raised to his memory, as a proof
ıe repented of his harsh and hasty proceedings
st him.

ıe treatment which Marshal Schwerin met
for gaining the battle of Molwitz is well

him with marked coldness; negl
as the necessity of claiming as
genius would permit; and, finall
of his exposing himself to cert
the battle of Prague, where thi
the art of war fell undistinguish
leaving his family to the neglect
sovereign, and his memory to be
enemy whom he had conquered.*

After Frederic had quarrelled
heard of a Chevalier Masson, w
complishments were represented
replace those which he had just
vanity and caprice. It was wi
this gentleman could be induced

tly to the royal circles. A single indiscreet
of wit ruined him in the king's favour. He
it in disgust to his study, where he lived the
f a hermit for many years, his existence un-
n to the world, and the most important of
nceerns equally unknown to him. As he had
sacrificed all his prospects to accept of Fre-
s patronage, and had wasted the prime of his
s attending upon his capricious pleasure, it
: have been expected that he would at least
been permitted to enjoy his poor pension, so
r purchased, to the end of his inoffensive
But after twenty years of seclusion, such as
ve described, he had his name suddenly struck
the lists, and his appointments stopped, and
obliged to seek his own country with the
gs which his parsimony had enabled him to

e same selfish spirit, or carelessness towards
eelings and claims of others, which marked
ric's conduct to his family and friends, was
ly conspicuous in his treatment of inferior
dants, both in the relations of society and of
ess. In his familiar intercourse with those
ı he permitted to approach him, we can find
ne steadily drawn for the regulation of his
demeanour, or of theirs. His inclination
to have been, that he should always main-
he manifest superiority, without owing it in

[illegible]

[illegible]

footing, was terminated by a single [illegible]
rity from the royal companion. H[illegible]
to indulge his sarcastic humour and [illegible]
sallies directed with little delicacy [illegible]
tion against all around him; and [illegible]
pened to have, at the moment, su[illegible]
might, without any possibility of re[illegible]
those whom his railleries had forced [illegible]
he was sure to supply the defect b[illegible]
weapons which he alone of the cir[illegible]
It is not describing his behaviour co[illegible]
that in the hours of relaxation he w[illegible]
getting the monarch, provided his c[illegible]
forgot him. This would at least [illegible]
general rule, one principle of beha[illegible]
all might conform as soon as it was [illegible]
But Frederic laid down and took up [illegible]

[illegible]

ire submission to his caprices; not merely a
sive obedience, but a compliance with every
im and turn of his mind; sometimes requiring
be met with exertions, sometimes to be received
quiet. That we may form some idea of the
ure and extent of this meanness, so poor in one
o called himself a Royal Philosopher, it is
per to remark, that all those wits or other de-
dants with whom he passed his time, were en-
ly supported by his pensions; and that, beside
dangers of a fortress, any resistance was sure
ost them and their families their daily bread.
His ordinary mode of enjoying society was, to
d for a few of the philosophers who were always
eadiness, either when he dined, or had an hour's
ure from business, which he wished to beguile
he recreations of talking and receiving worship.
one of these occasions, the savans in waiting
e Quintus Icilius * and Thiebault; and it hap-
ed that the king, after giving his opinion at
st length, and with his usual freedom, upon the
angement of Providence, which conceals from
rtals the period of their lives, called upon them
urge whatever could be stated in its defence.

This was a Leyden professor, originally named Gui-
rd, who, being fond of military science, had been trans-
ned into a colonel of chasseurs by the king; and then,
n his admiration of Julius Cæsar's aide-de-camp, had
n ordered to assume the name of Quintus Icilius.

Quintus, unwarily supposing that he really
to hear the question discussed, gave a reason,
appears completely satisfactory. The phil
of Sans-Souci, however, only desired his g
take the opposite side of the argument,
conviction that they were not to invalidate
reasoning. And when Quintus fairly de
the force of it, by suggesting, that the
knowledge of our latter end would infaillibl
nish the ardour of our exertions for a consi
period beforehand, the king thought pro
break out into a violent personal invective.
(says Thiebault, who witnessed the extrem
rious but by no means singular scene,) "la
partit aussi subito qu'imprévue." '*Cette*
de juger,' lui dit le Roi, '*est bonne pour vou*
de boue et de fange! Mais apprenez, si to
vous le pouvez, que ceux qui ont l'âme noble,
et sensible aux charmes de la vertu, ne vou
point sur des maximes aussi misérables et
honteuses! Apprenez, Monsieur, que l'h
homme fait toujours le bien tant qu'il peut le
et uniquement parce que c'est le bien, sans
cher quels sont ceux qui en profiteront: mai
ne sentez point ces choses; vous n'êtes pa
pour les sentir.'—Vol. i. p. 84.

At one of his literary entertainments, w
order to promote free conversation, he re
the circle that there was no monarch pres

very one might think aloud, the conversation ed to turn upon the faults of different govern- and rulers. General censures were passing mouth to mouth, with the kind of freedom such hints were calculated, and apparently led to inspire. But Frederic suddenly put a o the topic by these words—" *Paix! paix! eurs; prenez garde, voilà le roi qui arrive; faut pas qu'il vous entende, car peut-être se it-il obligé d'être encore plus méchant que* '—Vol. v. p. 329.

ese sketches may serve to illustrate the con- f Frederic in society, and to show how far he forget his power in his familiar intercourse nferiors. As yet, we have seen only caprice, at meanness, or, to call it by the right name, dice, which consists in trampling upon the , and fighting with those who are bound. reatment of persons employed in his service, is manner of transacting business with them, ts us with equal proofs of a tyrannical dis- on, and examples of injustice and cruelty, ther unparalleled in the history of civilized rchies. It is well known, that a large pro- n of the Prussian army owes its origin to a of crimping, which the recruiting officers on in foreign states, and chiefly in the distant of the Empire. As Frederic II. did not uce this odious practice, he might, perhaps,

be allowed to escape severe censure for n
lishing it generally; but there can be on
opinion upon his conduct in those particul
which came to his knowledge, and where hi
tion was specifically called to the grievous
sustained by individuals. Of the many a
which have been preserved, relative to thi
one sample may suffice. A French ca
cavalry, returning to his native country,
long absence in the West Indies, was seiz
journey along the Rhine, by some Prussian
ing officers; his servant was spirited away,
was himself sent to the army as a private
in which capacity he was forced to serve
the rest of the Seven-years' war, against th
be it remarked, of his own country. In
addressed letter after letter to his friends, a
ing them with his cruel situation: the F
post-office was too well regulated to let
these pass. His constant memorials to t
were received, indeed, but not answered.
the peace was concluded, he was marched
regiment into garrison; and, at the next
the King, coming up to his colonel, inqu
person named M—— was still in the corps
his being produced, the King offered him
mission; he declined it, and received his di

It was thus that Frederic obtained, by
ping, the troops whom he used in plunde

ıbours. I finances were frequently indebted
ımilar means for their supply. The King's
ırite secretary M. Galser, by his orders, caused
ı millions of ducats to be made in a very
ıt manner, with a third of base metal in their
position. This sum was then intrusted to a
of the Jew Ephraim, so well known in the
ıry of Frederic's coinage, for the purpose of
ng it circulated in Poland, where it was ac-
ingly employed in buying up every portable
le of value that could be found. The Poles,
ıver, soon discovered that they had been im-
d upon, and contrived to transfer the loss to
: neighbours, by purchasing with the new
ıts whatever they could procure in Russia.
Russians, in like manner, found out the cheat,
complained so loudly that the Empress inter-
l, and made inquiries, which led to a discovery
:he quarter whence the issue had originally
e. She then ordered the bad money to be
ıght into her treasury, and exchanged it for
l coin. She insisted upon Frederic taking the
ı ducats at their nominal value, which he did
dare to refuse, but denied that he had any con-
. in the transaction; and to prove this, sent for
agent Galser, to whom he communicated the
mma in which he was, and the necessity of
ng him up as the author of the imposture.
ser objected to so dishonourable a proposal.

The King flew into a passion; kicked hi
lently on the shins, according to his custom
him to the fortress of Spandau for a year
half, and then banished him to a remote
of Mecklenburg.

Frederic acted towards his officers upon
ciple the most unjust, as well as unfeelin
can be imagined. It was his aim to en
military service among the higher ranks: t
monalty he conceived were adapted for
meaner employments in the state, and sho
occupy those stations in the army which
thought, the birthright of the aristocrac
instead of carrying this view into effect
only arrangement which was reconcilea
good faith—establishing a certain standard
below which no one should be admitted t
commission either in peace or in war—he
persons of all descriptions to enter the
officers, when there was any occasion for
vices, and after the necessity had ceased, d
those whose nobility appeared questionable
nothing could be more terrible to the bra
who for years had led his troops to vic
shared in their distresses, than the return o
After sacrificing their prospects in life, a
years, their health, with their ease, to t
painful service, and sought, through t
wounds, and misery, the provision which

rank in the profession affords, they were liable, at a moment's warning, to be turned ignominiously out of the army, whose fortunes they had followed, because the king either discovered, or fancied, that their family was deficient in rank.

We shall pass over the extreme jealousy with which Frederic treated all those to whom he was under the necessity of confiding any matters of state. Nothing, in the history of Eastern manners, exceeds the rigorous confinement of the cabinet secretaries. But we shall proceed to an example of the respect which the Justinian of the North, the author of the Frederician code, paid to the persons of those intrusted with the administration of justice in his dominions. This great lawgiver seems never to have discovered the propriety of leaving his judges to investigate the claims of suitors, any more than he could see the advantage of committing to tradesmen and farmers the management of their private affairs. In the progress which he made round his states at the season of the reviews, he used to receive from all quarters the complaints of those who thought themselves aggrieved by the course of justice; and because he had to consider the whole of the cases in addition to all the other branches of his employment, he concluded that he must be a more competent arbiter than they whose lives are devoted to the settlement of one part of such disputes. In

one of his excursions, a miller, a tenant of
complained to him that his stream was
a neighbouring proprietor; and the king
his chancellor to have the complaint inve
The suit was brought in form, and j
given against the miller. Next year he
his application, and affirmed that his nar
the facts was perfectly true; yet the c
nonsuited him. The king remitted the
the second tribunal, with injunctions to b
in doing the man justice: he was, howev
cast; and once more complained bitterly
king, who secretly sent a major of his
examine on the spot the question upon w
two highest judicatures had decided, and t
The gallant officer, who was also a neig
the miller, reported in his favour; and t
persons, commissioned in the same private
returned with similar answers. Freder
diately summoned his chancellor and t
judges who had determined the cause: he
them in a passion; would not allow them
a word in their defence; upbraided them
judges, nay, as miscreants; and wrote out
own hand a sentence in favour of the mil
full costs, and a sum as damages which
never claimed. He then dismissed the ch
from his office, with language too abusi
repeated; and, after violently kicking t

judges on pushed them out of his closet, and sent them to pr on at the fortress of Spandau. All the other judg ministers of justice were clearly of opinion, t the sentence originally given against the mil was a right one, and that the case admitted of no doubt. As for the chancellor, it was universally allowed that the matter came not within his jurisdiction; and that he could not possibly have known anything of the decision. At last a foreign journalist undertook the investigation of the business; and being placed beyond the limits of the royal philosopher's caprice, he published a statem nt which left no shadow of argument in the miller's favour. As Frederic attended to what was written abroad, and in French, Linguet's production quickly opened his eyes. Not a word was said in public; none of those measures were adopted, by which a great mind would have rejoiced to acknowledge such errors, and offer some atonement to outraged justice. An irritable vanity alone seemed poorly to regulate the ceremony of propitiation; and he who had been mean enough to insult the persons of his judges in the blindness of anger, could scarcely be expected, after his eyes were opened, to show that pride which makes men cease to deserve blame, by avowing, while they atone for, their faults. Orders were *secretly* given to the miller's adversary, he should not obey the sentence. With

secresy, a compensation was made to the mill himself. The three judges, after lingering ma months in prison, were *quietly* liberated: the ch cellor was allowed to remain in disgrace, becau he had been most of all injured; and the faithf subjects of his majesty knew too well their du and his power, to interrupt this paltry silence any whispers upon what had passed.

If this system of interference, this intermeddli and controlling spirit, thus appeared, even in t judicial department, much more might it be look for in the other branches of his administration. was, in truth, the vice of his whole reign; even suspended in its exercise during war, b raging with redoubled violence, when the comp rative idleness of peace left his morbid activity prey upon itself. If any one is desirous of see how certainly a government is unsuccessful trade and manufactures, he may consult the sketc of this boasted statesman's speculations in that li as profitably as the accounts which have been pu lished of the royal works and fabrics in Spa But there are particulars in the policy of Freder exceeding, for absurdity and violence, whatever to be met with in the descriptions of Spanish po tical economy. We have only room for runni over a few detached examples.—When a ch manufactory was to be set a-going at Berlin the royal account, it was thought necessary

by forcing a market for the wares. Accord-
the Jews, who cannot marry without the
permission, were obliged to pay for their
es by purchasing a certain quantity of the
cups and saucers at a fixed price.—The in-
ction of the silk culture was a favourite
e with Frederic; and to make silk-worms
nd mulberry-trees grow in the Prussian sands,
pense must be spared. Vast houses and ma-
tories were built for such as chose to engage
speculation; a direct premium was granted
e exportation of silk stuffs; and medals were
led to the workmen who produced above five
ls of the article in a year. But nature is very
rful, even among Prussian grenadiers. In
ists of exports we find no mention made of
while it forms a considerable and a regular
h of the goods imported.—The settlement of
ists in waste lands was another object of emi-
attention and proportionate expense. Foreign
ies were enticed and transported by the crimps
he employed all over Europe for recruiting
rces; they received grants of land; were pro-
with houses, implements, and live-stock, and
shed with subsistence, until their farms be-
sufficiently productive to support them. Fre-
called this supplying the blanks which war
in his population.—His rage for encouraging
introduction of new speculations was quite

ungovernable. No sooner did his emissaries inform him of any ingenious manufacturer or chanic, in France or elsewhere, than he bo him to settle in Berlin, by the most extrava terms. When he found the success of the pr too slow, or its gains, from the necessity of cir stances, fell short of expectation, he had only way of getting out of the scrape; he broke bargain with the undertaker, and generally him to a fortress; in the course of which tra tion, it always happened that somebody inter under the character of a minister, a favourite, to pillage both parties. Experience never e to correct this propensity. It was at an adv period of his reign that he sent orders to h bassadors to find him a general projector a who might be employed wholly in fancying schemes, and discussing those which shoul submitted to him. Such a one was accordi procured, and tempted, by large bribes, to at Potsdam.

Frederic's grand instrument in political ec was the establishment of monopolies. Wheth art was to be encouraged, or a public taste g fied, or a revenue gleaned, or the balance of adjusted, a monopoly was the expedient. the exclusive privilege was granted to one fa of supplying Berlin and Potsdam with flow the price was instantly doubled; and the kin

ived no n e than eight thousand a-year of the efits. Well did the (ated Helvetius remark 'some applications for such contracts, upon which e king demanded his sentiments, "Sire, you need t trouble yourself with reading them through; ey all speak the same language—'*We beseech ur Majesty to grant us leave to rob your people such a sum; in consideration of which, we engage to pay you a certain share of the pillage.*'"
ederic was led to conceive that his subjects drank o much coffee in proportion to their means, and too little nourishing food. The universal remedy was applied; and the supply of all the coffee ed within his dominions given exclusively to a mpany. The price was thus, as he had wished, eatly raised, and some of the spoil shared with s treasury; but the taste of the people remained determined in favour of coffee as before, and of urse was much more detrimental to their living. obacco, in like manner, he subjected to a strict onopoly; and when he wished to have arms furshed very cheap to his troops, he had again reurse to his usual expedient: he conferred upon e house of Daum and Splikberg, armourers, the clusive privilege of refining sugar, on condition at they should sell him muskets and caps at a ry low price. In all his fiscal policy, he was an xious observer of the balance of trade, and never led to cast a pensive eye upon the tables of ex-

ports and imports. "Every year," says one of hi panegyrists, "did he calculate with extreme atte tion the sums which came into his states, and tho which went out; and he saw, with uneasiness, th the balance was not so favourable as it ought be."* After all his monopolies and premiums f the encouragement of production, he found, seems, that the exports of his kingdom could n be augmented. "Therefore," adds this auth "he had only one resource left—to diminish t importation;" which he accordingly attempted, b new monopolies and prohibitions.

It remains, before completing our estimate Frederic's character, that we should recollect b public conduct in the commonwealth of Europ where he was born to hold so conspicuous a stati And here, while we wonder at the abilities whi led him to success, it is impossible not to adm that they belonged to that inferior order whi can brook an alliance with profligacy and ent want of principle. The history of the Prussi monarchy, indeed, is that of an empire scrap together by industry, and fraud, and violence, fr neighbouring states. By barter, and conquest, a imposture, its manifold districts have been g dually brought under one dynasty; not a patch the motley mass but recalls the venality or we ness of the surrounding powers, and the unp

* Thiebault, iv. 127.

pations of the house of Brandenburg. Frederic II. whose strides, far surpass- his ancestors, raised his family to the rimary power; enabled him to baffle which his ambition had raised against ave the means of forming, himself, a acy for the destruction of whatever d been held most sacred by the poten- dern times. It is in vain that we dis- ourselves, and endeavour to forget our t at that fatal crisis. We may rail at and the French Revolution—impute lity of the other powers the insolent Republican France—and exhaust our icence of tongue upon the chief, who, her destinies, made himself master of rld. Europe suffered by, and is still r the partition of Poland. Then it blic principles were torn up and scat- the usurpers of the day;—then it was, d and France poorly refused to suspend l animosities, and associate in support en other states, forgetting greater jea- e combined to violate the law;—then power became the measure of duty— on learnt all the lessons which it has practising of *arrondissements*, and equi- indemnities—that an assurance of im- success was held out to those who might

afterwards abandon all principle, provid
were content with a share of the plunder,
the lesson was learnt which the settlers of
practised in 1814 and 1815, the lesson wh
again practised in 1839, of transferring f
weak to the strong whatever portion of
it may please them to take, without co
the wishes of the inhabitants more than th
that drag the plough through their fields.
we look back with detestation, then, on t
duct of those powers who perpetrated the
and most of all on Frederic who contrived
us also reflect, with shame, on the pusillani
those who saw, yet helped not; and, in ju
the memory of a truly great man, let us
mind, that he who afterwards warned us
the usurpations of France at their nearer ap
raised his voice against the dereliction of
which paved the way for them in the Part
Poland.*

The details into which we have entered
scriptive of Frederic's character, may se
out of keeping in a sketch like this. But
versal belief of his greatness, and the dispo
exalt his merits because of the success wh
lowed his ambition, render it necessary to
those merits to their true dimensions, w
general description could effect.

* Mr. Burke.

Upon the whole, all well-regulated minds will
n from a minute view of this famous personage,
pressed with no veneration for his character,
her as a member of society, a ruler of the people,
a part of the European community. That he
essed the talents of an accomplished warrior
d an elegant wit, it would be absurd to deny,
superfluous to demonstrate. He has left us,
his victories, and his writings, the best proofs;
all that is preserved of his conversation leads
belief that it surpassed his more careful efforts.
ranked unquestionably in the first class of
riors; nor is it doubtful that the system by
ich, when carried to its full extent, Napoleon's
tories were gained, had its origin in the strategy
Frederic,—the plan, namely, of rapidly moving
masses of troops, and always bringing a supe-
r force to bear upon the point of attack. His
ministration, whether military or civil, was sin-
rly marked by promptitude and energy. Wher-
r active exertion was required, or could secure
cess, he was likely to prevail; and as he was in
things a master of those inferior abilities which
stitute what we denominate address, it is not
derful that he was uniformly fortunate in the
inets of his neighbours. The encouragements
ich he lavished on learned men were useful,
ugh not always skilfully bestowed; and in this,
in all the departments of his government, we

see him constantly working mischief by w
too much. His Academy was no less unde
mand than the best disciplined regiment
service; and did not refuse to acknowled
authority upon matters of scientific opinio
taste in the arts. His own literary acqui
were limited to the *belles lettres*, and moral s
even of these he was far from being cou
master. His practice, as an administrator
consistent with an extensive or sound p
knowledge; and his acquaintance with the
was derived from French translations; he
very little Latin, and no Greek. To his sp
ness in society, and his love of literary co
so rare in princes, he owes the reputation of
losopher; and to the success of his intrig
his arms, the appellation of Great: a title
is the less honourable, that mankind have g
agreed to bestow it upon those to whom the
titude was least of all due.

GUSTAVUS III.

n nephew of Frederic II. was Gustavus III. of eden, and he is certainly entitled to rank among more distinguished men of his age. It was the ing of Frederic, "My nephew is an extraordi- y person; he succeeds in all he undertakes;" considering the difficulties of his position, the verse circumstances in which some of his enter- ses were attempted, his success amply justified panegyric at the time it was pronounced, and ore the military disasters of his reign.

He was born with great ambition to distinguish h his country among the nations of Europe and aself among her sovereigns. Inflamed with the ollection of former Swedish monarchs, and im- ient of the low position to which the ancient own of his country had fallen through a suc- sion of feeble princes, he formed the project of ieving the crown from the trammels imposed on it by an overwhelming aristocracy, as the ly means by which the old glories of Sweden ald be revived, and the influence of the Gus- uses and the Charleses restored. The king of

the country, indeed, when he ascende
was its sovereign only in name. Ha
responsibility of the government cas
he had all its weight resting upon hi
he had all the odium of executing the
press sedition, to levy taxes, to puni
But neither in making those laws no
the policy of the state, nor in admi
resources, had he any perceptible in
ever. The crown was a mere page
wholly destitute of power, and only
exist because the multitude, accusto
verned by kings, required acts of au
promulged in the royal name, and b
convenient to have some quarter up
blame of all that was unpopular in th
the government might rest. The r
the state was certainly in the hands o
cracy, who ruled through the medium
an assembly of nominal representative
try in which the order of the noble
sway. The Senate in fact governed
In them was vested almost all the pat
state: they could compel meetings o
any time; they even claimed the co
army, and issued their orders to the t
the king's consent.

When Gustavus was abroad on his
then about 22 years of age, his fat

'aris, where the intelligence reached him, he
ed a Declaration filled with the most extra-
expressions of devotion to the constitution,
r the liberties of his people, and abhorrence
ything tending towards absolute government,
t in Sweden is termed "Sovereignty;" for
edes, like the Romans, regarded monarchy,
in name, as equivalent to tyranny. He
that "deeming it his chiefest glory to be
t citizen of a free state" he should regard
e "as his worst enemies who, being traitor-
the country, should upon any pretext what-
ek to introduce unlimited royal authority
veden," and he reminded the States of the
hich he had solemnly sworn to the constitu-
Those who read this piece were struck with
erdone expressions in which it was couched;
ofound observers did not hesitate to draw
sions wholly unfavourable to the sincerity
royal author. On his arrival in Sweden,
r he was in little haste to return, he renewed
e vows of fealty to the existing constitution;
the articles of the Capitulation tendered by
ates in the usual form, articles which left
e name of king and the shadow of royal
ity; absolved the States and his subjects
heir allegiance should he depart from his
ments, and menaced with his "utmost wrath
should dare to propose a single degree of

addition to the present power or splendour o
crown." At his Coronation, which was post
to the next year, he volunteered an addition
play of gratuitous hypocrisy and fraud, when
ing taken the oaths to the constitution, h
claimed "Unhappy the king who wants the
oaths to secure himself on the throne, and,
to reign in the hearts of his people, is for
rule by legal constraint!"

Thus did this accomplished dissembler con
for above a year and a half, to keep up the ap
ance of a constitutional king, while in all his
and actions he affected the republican, and
overdid the part. At length his preparations
completed, he cast the mask away, excited
surrection of troops in two distant fortres
distract the senate's attention, and having g
over the regiments in the capital, secured th
sons of the senators, assembled the other Est
a hall surrounded with soldiery, and against
guns were planted and men stationed with li
matches, while he dictated a new constit
vesting absolute power in the crown, and a
lating the influence of both the nobility an
representatives of the people. This outrageo
of combined treachery and violence he com
as he had begun with the mockery of oath
the most extravagant cant of piety. He sw
the new constitution; he invoked the Divine

on it in an hypocritical prayer; and he ended ordering all present to sing a psalm, of which gave out the first line and led the air. Cer- ly so gross an instance of sustained falsehood fraud, in all its departments, was never either re or since exhibited by any even of the royal ocrites who have at various times encroached, stratagem and by perjury, upon the liberties of kind.

t is fit that the history of this transaction should t forth in its own hateful colours, because it was at the time, and has been since, made the ject of great panegyric among the admirers of sful crime. Mankind will never be without ressors as long as they act against their own interests by conspiring against those of virtue, make impostors of statesmen and tyrants of ces by transferring to success the praise that uld be reserved for virtue, venerating fortune er than prudence, and defrauding the wise and good of their just applause, or suffering it to shared with the profligate and the daring. A mium is thus held out for unscrupulous violence unprincipled fraud, when the failure of the st and the best designs is alone and alike demned, and the means by which success is ieved are lost sight of in the false lustre that rounds it.

But tried by a far lower standard than that of

public virtue, the conduct of Gustav
fails. If nothing could more betray a
tion than his consummate hypocrisy
could more show a paltry mind than t
his fraudulent pretences when they
unnecessary for his purpose. He migh
the overthrow of the constitution just
with quite as much chance of succe
cepted the constitution in the ordin
signed the usual Capitulation as a mat
No one objected to his title; while h
lived he had been acknowledged th
his succession was certain on his fa
and if any thing could have directed
his hidden designs it was the pains he
extravagant professions of zealous de
berty, to show that he was plotting
He had nothing to do but to plan his
secret, and in secret to obtain the su
four or five regiments by which he
purpose. All his vile canting, both in
tion from Paris, and in the speech
to the constitution, was utterly use
showed a petty understanding as well
heart.

Truly he was a profligate man in e
the word. He delighted in cunning f
sake. He preferred accomplishing
trick, and the more tricky any con

rous he thought his pursuit of it, and
he liked it. His abilities were unques-
ut they were on a paltry scale; his re-
as undoubted, but he was placed in cir-
which enabled him to avoid running
risks; for nothing can be more unwieldy
ate of sixty or seventy persons as direct-
itary force; and the mob was for him
t them. That he showed great coolness
e whole affair is not denied. He quietly
e Revolution on the 21st of August, and
a country seat twenty miles from Stock-
lsund, afterwards the property of a Scotch
, named Seton, whom he ennobled. We
there a line or two written by him on
w-shutter, with the above date, and pur-
at, "On this day he had come there after
ution." When the supreme power was
his own hands, although he maintained
even a struggle, and afterwards still
tended it by a second breach of the con-
which in 1772 he had as solemnly sworn
n, as he had the one which he then over-
t there was nothing enlarged or success-
administration of public affairs, nothing
cy which showed an enlightened or well-
any more than a liberal mind. Support-
st India Company, and prohibiting the
ffee under severe penalties to encourage

their trade in tea, or prohibiting Fr
protect the distillation of a very b
corn, were the greatest reach of
economical improvements; while,
expenditure and his fraudulent tamp
the coin and afterwards with the p
which he issued in excess, he so red
dard, that soon after his death it w
of nearly 50 per cent. below par.
kept its value; but with this he man
fere, and in a manner so scandalous
of royal profligacy presents no seco
any thing so mean and base. An ex
was committed in Hamburgh or A
Stockholm Bank by parties whom he
then gave up. The Bank having
time was saved from ruin, though
and the agents in the infamous p
usual reward of those who suffer th
made the instruments in the villani
they were punished because their
beyond the reach of the law, and
abroad exiles for the rest of their da

In his military capacity he show
considerable extent, though, as in
not of the first order. He was active
prodigal of his person; but so little
designs by his means, that he obtain
the reputation of being a restless pri

ne of a considerable warrior; and so little
o form great and happy and well-considered
ations, that he never went beyond daring
illiant failures. The absolute influence of
under the Aristocratic government having
ut an end to by the Revolution, ever after
Catherine was plotting to regain her ascen-
r to obtain by force a still more undisputed
ver Swedish affairs. To all her intrigues
us was alive, and often succeeded in counter-
them; to all her insidious proposals he was
eing through their real object, as when she
have inveigled him into a partition of Den-
Norway to become Russian, and Jutland
he Islands Swedish, he made answer, that
should not put her arm round his neck to
e him." Indeed there can be little doubt
e only wished to draw him into a snare by
ng his consent, that she might betray him
mark, and join with her in destroying him.
therefore, the terms on which these two
ate Sovereigns were with each other had
as unfriendly as possible, and he found
engaged on the side of Turkey in a very
t warfare, he seized the opportunity of at-
her, and sailed with a fleet up the gulf of
d, so as to threaten Petersburgh by his
ch. His first operations were successful,
on a small scale, and in a degree far from

decisive. A battle was then fought in c[illegible]
stances so adverse to any such operation,
seemed as much contrary to nature in a phy[illegible]
in a moral view; for the channel was
studded with islands, broken with rocks a[illegible]
step, and defying all nautical skill to steer
unless with favouring weather, and wit[illegible]
other occupation than that of seamansh[illegible]
here did the hostile fleets engage for na[illegible]
with immense slaughter on both side[illegible]
balanced a result, that each claimed t[illegible]
The Russians, however, being greatly
numbers, kept the sea afterwards, and
retreated. An opposition in the Senat[illegible]
new obstacles to Gustavus's projects, a[illegible]
this with his wonted vigour. Appeal[illegible]
port to the other orders, and then sur[illegible]
refractory and disaffected body wi[illegible]
whose fidelity he could rely, he arr[illegible]
thirty of them, and abolished the Se[illegible]
den change of his own constitutio[illegible]
violation of his most solemn enga[illegible]
next campaign was thus freed fro[illegible]
barrassment, but it was through[illegible]
Defeated by sea, on shore he wa[illegible]
fortunate; his army, officers as w[illegible]
fused to obey him; and he was
deplorable expedient, easily sugge[illegible]
falseness of his nature, of amusin[illegible]

ious accounts of his proceedings; but his fic-
were so clumsy, that their self-contradictions
ıyed their origin, and the honest Prince of
au was induced to complain formally of such
oceeding, bluntly and ineffectually reminding
monarch that such gross and apparent false-
s were wholly unworthy a man who was always
ous of playing the warrior and the hero.

these disastrous scenes, from the consequences
hich Sweden did not recover for many years,
the effects of which long survived their author,
admitted on all hands that his abilities were
ntageously shown, but above all, that his cou-
was uniformly displayed in an eminent degree.
doubtful if any capacity could have made up
he vast disparity of strength between the two
es who were thus matched in such unequal
ɔat; but he often succeeded where an ordinary
would never have ventured; and although he
l not be said to display first-rate talents for
he yet had no reason to be ashamed of the
he played in its operations.

ı private life his profligacy was of the grossest
ıiption; and with the same preposterous folly
h made him prefer the most crooked paths in
r to show his cunning, he thought that his
d object of civilising his dominions could be
mplished by patronising the introduction of
ign vices from other climates among the hardy

was the most eminent.

His personal accomplishments were o
his information was much above that
princes; and though he never attempt
as his uncle of Prussia, nor possessed
superficial kind of learning which
prided himself upon, he certainly wr
deal better, or rather less badly, and p
not really his inferior in a literary po
His manners and address were extreme
and he was greatly above the folly of
the dignity of his station, as his liber
uncle, Frederic, always did; who, will
to pass for a wit among kings, was al
enough to be a king among wits, so
the wit was beaten in fair argument.

argument or for repartee. It was the observ-
n of a man well versed in courts, and who had
ı much of all the princes of his time,* that
ıtavus III. was almost the only one of them
ı would have been reckoned a clever man in
ety had he been born a subject.

The same spirit which he showed in the field,
in his political measures, he displayed equally
he various attempts made upon his life. The
nals and museums of Stockholm have several
dly instruments preserved in them, which were
ed at his person, and in no instance did he ever
ı his presence of mind, or let the attempt be
wn, which by some extraordinary accident had
ed. At last he fell by an assassin's hand. For
ıe mysterious reason, apparently unconnected
h political matters, an officer named Anker-
ɔem, not a noble or connected with the nobility,
t him in the back at a masquerade. The
und of quarrel apparently was personal: dif-
ɔnt accounts, some more discreditable to the
narch than others, are given of it; but nothing
been ascertained on sufficient evidence; and
se are subjects upon which no public end is
ved by collecting or preserving conjectures. To
ell upon them rather degrades history into gos-
ing or tale-bearing, and neither explains men's
tives, nor helps us to weigh more accurately the

* Sir Robert Liston.

merits of their conduct any more than to asce
its springs.

The story of the fortunes of this prince pre
no unimportant lesson to statesmen of the rel
value of those gifts which they are wont mo
prize, and the talents which they are fonde
cultivating. A useful moral may also be d
from the tale of so many fine endowments b
thrown away, and failing to earn an enduring
nown, merely because they were unconnected
good principles, and unaccompanied by right
ings. The qualities which he possessed, or
proved, or acquired, were those most calculat
strike the vulgar, and to gain the applause of
unreflecting multitude. Brave, determined, g
as well with political courage as with pers
valour, quick of apprehension, capable of ap
cation, patient of fatigue, well informed on ge
subjects, elegant, lively, and agreeable in soc
affable, relying on his merits in conversation,
overhearing with his rank none that approac
him—who so well fitted to win all hearts, if c
mon popularity were his object, or to gain la
fame if he had chosen to build upon such fou
tions a superstructure of glorious deeds? Bu
content with being prudent and politic, he
affect the power of being able to deceive all
kind; wise only by halves, he must mistake
ning for sagacity; perverted in his taste by va

ust prefer outwitting men by trickery to over-
ng them by solid reason or by fair designs;
sterously thinking that the greater the trea-
· the deeper the policy, he must overlay all
chemes with superfluous hypocrisy and dissi-
tion. Even his courage availed him little;
se looking only to the outside of things, and
dent only for the first step, he never pro-
lly formed his plans, nor ever thought of
g his measures to his means. Thus in war
ft the reputation only of failure and defeat;
id the fame which he acquired by his success-
olitical movements long outlive him, when
saw to how little account he was capable of
ng the power which he had been fortunate
gh to obtain by his bold and managing spirit.
nany years men observing the contrast which
resented to other princes in his personal de-
our, and dazzled with the success of his poli-
enterprises, lavished their admiration upon
vith little stint, and less reflection; nor would
had his dominions been more extensive, and
ctions performed on a less confined theatre,
hesitated in bestowing upon him the title of
eat," with which they are wont to reward their
: enemies for their worst misdeeds, and to
e sovereigns into the paths of tyranny and
But he outlived the fame which he had early
red. To his victories over the aristocracy at

home succeeded his defeats by the enemy
It was discovered that a prince may be more
and accomplished than others, without being
useful to his people, or more capable of p
ing great actions; and the wide difference b
genius and ability was never more marked
him. By degrees the eyes even of his con
raries were opened to the truth; and then
arts of treachery, in which it was his un
pride to excel, became as hateful to men of
principles as his preposterous relish for su
distinction was disgustful to men of corre
and right feelings. Of all his reputation,
time sufficiently brilliant, not any vestig
remains conspicuous enough to tempt othe
his crooked paths; and the recollections as
with his story, while they bring contemp
his name, are only fitted to warn men agai
shame that attends lost opportunities and
tuted talents.

THE EMPEROR JOSEPH.

GREAT contrast in every respect to Gustavus I. was presented by another Prince who floubed in the same age, Joseph II. In almost all alities, both of the understanding and the heart, differed widely from his contemporary of the orth. With abilities less shining though more lid, and which he had cultivated more diligently; lth far more information, acquired somewhat after e laborious German fashion; with so little love r trick or value for his own address, that he ther plumed himself on being a stranger to those ts, and on being defective in the ordinary prosion of cunning which the deceitful atmosphere courts renders almost necessary as a protection ainst circumvention; with ambition to excel, but t confined to love of military glory; with no rticular wish to exalt his own authority, nor any disposition to acquire fame by extending the hapiness of his people—although presenting to the ulgar gaze a less striking object than Gustavus, was in all important particulars a far more conderable person, and wanted but little from nature

though certainly much from fortune, to l
behind him a great and lasting reputation.
which he did want was, however, sufficient
stroy all chance of realising an eminent
among the lights of the world: for his jud
was defective; he was more restless than
vering; and though not at all wanting in
of labour, yet he often thought of royal r
his object, and leaving those steep and circ
routes which nature has formed along the
would fall into what has been termed by
Bacon the paradox of power—desiring to
the end without submitting to use the means
cess in such circumstances was hopeless; an
dent contributed largely to multiply and exag
his failures, insomuch that the unhappy m
on his death-bed exclaimed in the anguish
spirit, that his epitaph should be—"He
Joseph, who was unsuccessful in all his
takings." Men looking to the event, rated hi
far below his real value, and gave him cre
none of the abilities and few of the virtues
he really possessed. Nothing can be more
more foolish in itself or more mischievous
consequences, than the almost universal d
nation of the world to reckon nothing in a
of any value but brilliant talents, and to
worth of little avail in that station in whi
of the most inculculable importance. Na

al life be ever so much disfigured with crime, if have nothing mean, that is, if its vices be all a great scale, and especially if it be covered h military successes, little of the reprobation to its demerits will be expressed, as if the atest of public enormities, the excesses of ambi-, effected a composition for the worst private lts. Even our James I. is the object of con-ıpt not so much for the vile life he led as for want of spirit and deficiency in warlike accom-shments; and, if the only one of his failings ich was beneficial to his subjects had not existed his character, his name would have descended us with general respect among the Harries and Edwards of an earlier age.

It was in some degree unfortunate for the fame Joseph that he came after so able and so cele-ted a personage as his mother, Maria Theresa. t this circumstance also proved injurious to his ication; for the Empress Queen was resolved it her son, even when clothed by the Election the Germanic Diet with the Imperial title, ould exercise none of its prerogatives during her e; and long after he had arrived at man's estate, was held in a kind of tutelage by that bold and litic Princess. Having therefore finished his idies, and perceiving that at home he was destined remain a mere cipher while she ruled, he went road, and travelled into those dominions in Italy

nominally his own, but where he had no
concern with the government than the mea
his subjects; and from thence he visited th
of the Italian states. An eager, but an in
minate thirst of knowledge distinguished him
ever he went; there was no subject which he
not master, no kind of information which he
not amass; nor were any details too mind
him to collect. Nothing can be more praise
than a sovereign thus acquainting himsel
roughly with the concerns of the people over
he is called to rule; and the undisting
ardour of his studies can lead to little other
than the losing time, or preventing the acq
of important matters by distracting the at
to trifles. But his activity was as indiscri
as his inquiries, and he both did some hur
exposed himself to much ridicule by the c
which it prompted. He must needs visit th
vents and inspect the works of the nuns; n
satisfied until he imposed on those whose
moved less quickly than suited his notions of
industry, the task of making shirts for the so
So his ambition was equally undistinguis' i
unreflecting: nor did he consider that the
which it led him to imitate might well be
all merit in him, though highly important i
whose example he was following to the le
gardless of the spirit. Thus because the K

China encourages agriculture by driving, at ie solemn festival, a plough with the hand that ds at other times the celestial sceptre, the Em- er of Germany must needs plough a ridge in Milanese, where of course a monument was cted to perpetuate this act of princely folly.

But of all his admirations, that which he enter- ned for the great enemy of his house, his mother, l his crown, was the most preposterous. During Seven years' war, which threatened the exist- e of all three, he would fain have served a cam- gn under Frederic II.; and although he might bably have had the decency to station himself the northern frontier, where Russia was the my, yet no one can wonder at the Empress een prohibiting her son from taking the recre- on of high treason to amuse his leisure hours, l occupying his youth and exposing his person shaking the throne which he was one day to fill.

length, however, the day arrived which he had long eagerly panted for, when he was to become sonally acquainted with the idol of his devotion. s inflexible parent had, in 1766, prevented them m meeting at Torgau; but three years after y had an interview of some days at Neiss in esia, the important province which Frederic l wrested from the Austrian crown. The ve- an monarch has well conveyed an idea of his nirer in one of his historical works, which indeed

contains very few sketches of equal merit: — affectoit une franchise qui lui sembloit nature son caractere aimable marquoit de la gaiete jo à la vivacité; mais avec le désir d'apprendr n'avoit pas la patience de s'instruire." And tainly this impatience of the means, proporti to an eagerness for the end, was the distingui feature of his whole character and conduct thro life, from the most important to the most trivi his various pursuits.

Although Frederic had a perfect right to down upon Joseph in this view as well as in others, and although there can be no sort of parison between the two men in general, yet equally certain that, in one most important cular, a close resemblance may be traced be them, and the same defect may be found un the projects of both. Their internal admini tion was marked with the same intermeddling controlling spirit, than which a more mischie character cannot belong to any system of rule, is indeed an error into which all sovereigns an ministers are very apt to fall, when they avoid opposite, perhaps safer, extreme of indifferen their duties. Nor was he the more likely to a middle course, whose power had no li whose ideas of government were taken from mechanical discipline of an army; and whose lities so far exceeded the ordinary lot of roya

andings, that he seemed to have some grounds hinking himself capable of everything, while espised the talents of every body else. Yet it be allowed, that if all other proofs were ing, this one undoubted imperfection in Fre-'s nature is a sufficient ground for ranking among inferior minds, and for denying him higher qualities of the understanding which r such faculties beneficial as he unquestion-possessed. A truly great genius will be the to prescribe limits for its own exertions; to ver the sphere within which its powers must oncentrated in order to work, beyond which diffusion can only uselessly dazzle. But this knowledge, and a self-command, that Frederic attained. Though the ignorance and weak-which he displayed, in the excessive govern-of his kingdom, were thrown into the shade s military glory, or partially covered by his rness and activity, they require only to be ed apart, in order to excite as much ridicule as ever bestowed on the Emperor Joseph, e system of administration indeed greatly nbled his neighbour's, unless that he had more re to show his good intentions by his blunders, was guided by better principles in the prose-n of his never-ending schemes. Like him, Prussian ruler conceived that it was his duty to ternally at work; to take every concern in his

dominions upon his own shoulders; seldom think men's interest safe when committed to th selves, much less to delegate to his ministers portion of the superintending power, which yet be everywhere present and constantly on watch. Both of those princes knew enough detail to give them a relish for affairs; but were always wasting their exemplary activity marring the concerns which belonged not to department; and extending their knowledge other people's trades, instead of forming an quaintance with their own. While other mona were making a business of pleasure, they ma pleasure of business; but, utterly ignorant much of their professional duties resolved in wise choice of agents, with all their industry wit, they were only mismanaging a part of work, and leaving the rest undone; so that it fairly be questioned whether their dominions w not have gained by the exchange, had their been squandered in the seraglio, and their af intrusted to cabinets of more quiet persons more ordinary understandings.

But although these two eminent men equally fond of planning and regulating, as indulged their propensity in different circumstan so their schemes were not pursued in the manner, and have certainly been attended different results. Joseph was a legislator

or. From the restlessness of his spirit, and
nt of pressing affairs to employ his portion
nt, his measures were often rather busy and
s, than seriously hurtful; and as the con-
of a plan resulted from his activity and
s, he was still vacant and restless after the
had been taken for its execution, and gene-
rangled it by his impatience to witness the
of his wisdom; like the child who plants a
and plucks it up when it has scarcely
d, to see how it is growing. Thus it hap-
that many of his innovations were done
y himself, while others had no tendency to
any change. Those which were opposed,
pushed to a certain length, and then knew
yield, after mischief had been done by the
e; but few of them survived his own day;
such as anticipated, by a slight advance, the
course of events. Frederic, on the other
was not placed in easy circumstances; he
ive from necessity, as much as from vanity;
an adventurer, whose projects must be
to some account; not an idle amateur, who
use himself with forming a new scheme
e others have failed. Although, then, like
, he could afford his designs little time to
yet he contrived to force something out of
y new applications of power; thus bringing
emature conclusion operations in their own

nature violent and untimely. Hence his
ties, like his rival's idle impatience, allow
plans no chance of coming to perfection
while Joseph destroyed the scheme of yeste
make a new one, Frederic carried it forcib
an imperfect execution before it was we
Add to this, that the power of the latter
more absolute, and of a description the best
for enforcing detailed commands, he was
enabled to carry through his regulating an
fering plans against whatever opposition the
encounter, while his superior firmness of ch
and his freedom from the various checks
principle or feeling imposed upon the A
monarch, precluded all escape from the ri
his administration by any other than fra
means. Thus, the consequences of his to
governing, of his miserable views in finan
of his constant errors in the principles o
mercial legislation, are to be traced at t
through the various departments of the E
states. Nor can it be asserted in the pre
stance, that the powers of individual inter
sufficed to produce their natural effects upon
industry in spite of the shackles by which
been fettered and cramped.

The intercourse between these two so
which took place at Neiss, in 1769, was
only meeting; they had another the year

dt; and here, if ever, the remark of Vol-
roved correct, "that the meetings of Sove-
are perilous to their subjects;" for here was
ed that execrable crime against the rights of
id of nations, which has covered the memory
perpetrators with incomparably less infamy
ıey deserved, the Partition of Poland. Al-
ı Joseph's mother was still alive and suffered
share none of her authority, yet this nego-
, in which he undeniably was engaged, de-
him of all pretext for withdrawing from his
ı of the disgrace which so justly covers the
to that foul transaction.

s certain, however, and it is a melancholy
that this abominable enterprise is the only
' all the Emperor's undertakings that ever
ded. His less guilty attempt in Belgium,
rmless changes in Austria, his projects of
reform in Italy, all failed, and failed signally,
: most part through the careless and unre-
g manner in which he formed his plans, and
ıt of patience in allowing time for their exe-
. His absurd fancy of being crowned King
ngary at Vienna, instead of Presburg, and
orting the regalia out of the country, without
ssibility of effecting any good purpose, of-
the national pride of the Hungarians, and
their suspicions of further designs against
ights to such a pitch, that for the rest of his

reign he had to encounter the oppo
upon whose protection his mother h
self in her extremity, and who had
for their King Maria Theresa." H
forms, and indeed his attempts upo
of the Flemings, ended in exciting
lion, which convulsed the Netherla
of his death. In a far nobler object
failed as usual, and his ill-digested
vations rather confirmed than extir
he wished to destroy. He designed
Monasteries, to prevent Appeals to
retain the power of Ordination an
within the country. But he proceed
siderate a manner as to raise univers
all classes of the Clergy, and even
Pope undertake a journey from R
view of turning him aside from h
showing their dangerous consequenc
ous reception was all the Sovereig
ceived; and after his return to Italy
rashly abolished the Diocesan Semi
ing only five or six for the whole of
nions; new modelled the limits of th
altered the whole law of marriage,
the first time in a Catholic country,
divorce. He removed at the same t
from the churches, to show that
trifling as well as graver matters, pu

remature innovation, and that he was ignorant he great rule of practical wisdom in govern-t, which forbids us to hurt strong and general ngs where no adequate purpose is to be served, trifling or absurd soever the subject matter be to which those feelings relate. The re-al of images, however, was far from the most ing of the details into which he thrust his im-ring hand. He wearied out the clergy as well heir flocks with innumerable regulations touch-fasts, processions, ceremonies of the Church, ything, as has been well observed, with which civil power has the least right to meddle, and, ight be added, everything the most beneath a ereign's regard: so that Frederic used not un-pily to speak of him as his "brother the Sex-' (*mon frère le Sacristain*). Every one knows such freaks of power, the growth of a little d, torment and irritate their objects even more n they lower the reputation and weaken the iority of their authors.

Having formerly, with a restlessness so foolish n his position almost to be criminal, chosen the nent of the whole of his people being flung into sternation by his measures, as the fittest oppor-ty for going abroad upon a tour through France, re he passed some months in envying all he , and being mortified by its superiority to his possessions, novelty being no cause of tl

journey, for he had been all over that fine cou
four years before—so now, after having refu
the Pope's request, and proceeded still more rapi
in his ecclesiastical changes since the pontif
visit, he chose to return it immediately after
had given this offence; and he passed his tim
Rome in vainly endeavouring to obtain the co-
ration of Spain with his project for entirely th
ing off all allegiance to the Holy See. A
years after, this wandering Emperor repaire
Russia, and accompanied Catherine on her pro
through the southern parts of her empire.
he met with a sovereign who resembled him in
point, and no more; she was devoured by the
restless passion for celebrity, and in her dom
administration undertook everything to finish
thing, how effectively soever she might accomp
the worser objects of her criminal ambition abo
A witty remark of his connected with this w
ness is recorded, and proves sufficiently that
could mark in another what he was unable to
rect in himself. She had laid the first stone
city, to be called by her name, and she requ
him to lay the second. "I have begun
finished," said he, "a great work with the
press. She laid the first stone of a city and I
the last, all in one day."

His excessive admiration of Frederic, comb
with his thirst of military glory, in the war of

Bavaria n 1778, had the effect of neutralising each other He preferred corresponding to fighting with his y, who called it a campaign of the pen. Under diation of France peace was speedily restor af an active and vigorous interchang of l for some months, and with no other lt. t the war with the Turks, into which C therine inveigled him, was of a very different cha acter. With them no written compositions could produce any effect; and a series of disasters ensued, which ended in the enemy menacing Vienna its , after overrunning all Lower Hungary. It was in vain that he endeavoured to rally his defeated troops, or win back victory to his standard by the most indiscriminate severity; cashiering officers by the platoon, and shooting men by the regiment, until at length old Marshal Laudohn came forth from his retirement, and the men, animated by the sight of their ancient chief, repulsed the enemy, resumed the offensive, and forced Belgrade to capitulate without a siege. At this critical moment, and ere yet he could taste the pleasure, to him so novel, of success, death closed his eyes upon the ruin of his affairs in Belgium, their inextricable embarrassment at home, the death of a sister-in-law (first wife of Leopold), to whom he was tenderly attached, and the unwonted, perhaps unexpected, gleam of prosperity in the Turkish campaign. He died in the flower of his

ge, and almost at the summit of the confusion
reated by his restless folly, a sad instance how
much mischief a prince may do to others, and how
great vexation inflict upon himself, by attempting
in mediocrity of resources things which only
great capacity can hope to execute.

The volume which records the transactions
statesmen often suggests the remark that the s
cess of mediocrity, both in public and in pri
life, affords a valuable lesson to the world, a le
the more extensively useful, because the exa
is calculated to operate upon a far more enla
scale than the feats of rare endowments. In
vate individuals, moderate talents, however un
by disproportioned ambition, can produce
harm, except in exposing the folly and presu
of their possessors. But in princes, moder
lents, unaccompanied with discretion and u
are calculated to spread the greatest mis
whole nations. The pursuit of renown, wh
fined to maladministration at home, is es
mischievous; leading to restless love of ch
change's sake, attempts to acquire cel
undertakings which are above the reach
who makes them, and which involve th
nity in the consequences of their failure.
fear always is, that this restless temper, u
by adequate capacity, may lead to in
the Great Sport of Kings, and that wars,

al most hurtful to the state, will be waged, any fair chance of avoiding discomfiture grace. Hence a greater curse can hardly on any people than to be governed by a n whom disproportioned ambition, or pre- s vanity, is only supported by the moderate which, united to sound principles, and under trol of a modest nature, might constitute fety and their happiness. For it is alto- andeniable that, considering the common of princes, the necessary defects of their n, the inevitable tendency of their station nder habits of self-indulgence, and the s which they all feel, when gifted with a capacity, to seek dominion or fame by deeds, there is far more safety in nations uled by sovereigns of humble talents, if e only accompanied with an ambition pro- bly moderate.

THE EMPRESS CATHERINE

The two male conspirators against the lib
mankind, the rights of nations, the peace
world, have now been painted, but in c
more subdued than the natural hues of th
It remains that the most profligate of
should be portrayed, and she a woma
woman in whom the lust of power, unl
more vulgar profligacy of our kind,
all traces of the softer nature that
and left an image of commanding ta
digious firmness of soul, the capacit
stitute a great character, blended wi
fierceness of disposition, unscrupulo
fraud, unrestrained indulgence of
the weakness and all the wickedne
base the worst of the human race.

The Princess Sophia of Anhal
the smallest of the petty princ
Northern Germany abounds,
Peter III., nephew and heir-
Russian crown, and she took the
according to the custom of th

The profligacy of Elizabeth, then on the throne of the Czars, was little repugnant to the crapulous life which her future successor led, or to his consort following their joint example. The young bride, accordingly, soon fell into the debauched habits of the court, and she improved upon them; for having more than once changed the accomplices of her adulterous indulgences, almost as swiftly as Elizabeth did, she had her husband murdered by her paramour, that is, the person for the time holding the office of paramour; and having gained over the guards and the mob of Petersburgh, she usurped the crown to which she could pretend no earthly title. To refute the reports that were current and to satisfy all inquiries as to the cause of Peter's death, she ordered his body to be exposed to public view, and stationed guards to prevent any one from approaching near enough to see the livid hue which the process of strangling had spread over his features.

The reign thus happily begun, was continued in the constant practice of debauchery and the occasional commission of convenient murder. Lover after lover was admitted to the embraces of the Messalina of the North, until soldiers of the guards were employed in fatiguing an appetite which could not be satiated. Sometimes the favourite of the day would be raised to the confidence and the influence of prime minister; but after a while he ceased to

please as the paramour, though he retained his ministerial functions. One of the princes of the blood having been pitched on by a party to be their leader, was thrown into prison; and when the zeal of that party put forward pretences to the throne on his behalf, the imperial Jezebel had him murdered in his dungeon as the shortest way of terminating all controversy on his account, and all uneasiness. The mediocrity of her son Paul's talents gave her no umbrage, especially joined to the eccentricity of his nature, and his life was spared. Had he given his tigress-mother a moment's alarm, he would speedily have followed his unhappy father to the regions where profligacy and parricide are unknown.

Although Catherine was thus abandoned in all her indulgences and unscrupulous in choosing the means of gratifying her ambition especially, yet did she not give herself up to either the one kind of vice or the other, either to cruelty or to lust with the weakness which in little minds lends those abominable propensities an entire and undivided control. Her lovers never were her rulers; her licentiousness interfered not with her public conduct: her cruelties were not numerous and wanton, not the result of caprice or the occupation of a wicked and malignant nature, but the expedients, the unjustifiable, the detestable expedients, to which she had recourse when a great end was to be attained

The historian who would fully record the life of the Czarina, must deform his page with profligacy and with crimes that resemble the disgusting annals of the Cæsars: but the blot would be occasional only, and the darkness confined to a few pages, instead of blackening the whole volume, as it does that of Tacitus or Suetonius; for she had far too great a mind to be enslaved by her passions or merely mischievous in her feelings, although the gusts of the one carried her away, and what of the other was amiable had far too little force to resist the thirst for dominion, which, with the love of indulgence, formed the governing motive of her conduct.

Her capacity was of an exalted order. Her judgment was clear and sure; her apprehension extraordinarily quick; her sagacity penetrating; her providence and circumspection comprehensive. To fear, hesitation, vacillation, she was an utter stranger; and the adoption of a design was with her its instant execution. But her plans differed widely from those of her companion Joseph II., or even of her neighbour Gustavus III. They resembled far more those of her long-headed accomplice of Prussia. They were deeply laid in general, and for the most part well digested; formed as to their object with no regard to principle, but only to her aggrandisement and glory; framed as to their execution with no regard to the rights, or mercy for the sufferings of her fellow-creatures.

Over their execution the same dauntless, reckless, heartless feelings presided; nor was she ever to be turned from her purpose by difficulties and perils or abated in her desire of success by languor and delay, or quelled in her course by the least remnant of the humane feelings that mark the soft sex, extinct in her bold, masculine, and fiery bosom.

In one material particular, and in only one, seemed to betray her original womanhood, ceased to pursue the substance after she had far enough to gratify her vanity with the shew of outward appearances, and to tickle her with popular applause. Her military operations on the side of the East; her attempts at encroachment upon Turkey, whether by skilful negotiations with the Greek chiefs, or warlike movements almost decisively successful against Constantinople;* her measures in concert with Denmark against Sweden, and which only the interposition of England at Copenhagen, in 1788,† prevented from putting Finland in her possession; her share in the execrable Partition of Poland, from the beginning of that crime down to its consummation

* Had her admirals pushed their advantages, the Porte was laid prostrate at her feet.

† Our ambassador threatened to bombard Copenhagen with an English fleet, unless the Danes instantly raised the siege of Gottenburgh.

in 1794—all these schemes of her vigorous and daring policy formed a strange contrast with those ebullitions of childish vanity, which laid the foundation of cities in a desert, never to be finished nor ever built above the corner-stone; or assembled upon her route through the wastes of her empire thousands of half-naked savages and clothed them with dresses to be transported in the night and serve the next day's show, while she was making a progress through her barren, unpeopled domains; or made the shells of houses be raised one week, along the road where she was to pass, destined the week after to tumble in premature but inevitable ruins; or collected groups of peasants where none could subsist, and had these same groups carried on in the night to greet her next day with another false semblance of an impossible population in another waste. Nor was there much more reality in her councils of lawgivers to prepare a Code for her vast empire, and her Instructions, supposed to be written by herself, for guiding their deliberations and assisting their labours. But then she had resolved to be the Semiramis of the North; she must both be the Conqueror of Empires, the Founder of Cities, and the Giver of Laws. But it was incomparably more easy for an absolute sovereign at the head of forty millions of slave subjects, with a vast, impregnable, almost unapproachable dominion, if ruled by no princip

the other countries, than to improve her
to extend the numbers of her vassals, th
rease their happiness or their civilization
ed in all the more harmless, or beneficent
her schemes, while she unhappily succee
any of her warlike and unprincipled pr
nd she easily rested satisfied with the n
vil wisdom, and the mere outward sembl
plans for internal improvement, while she
the sad reality of territorial aggrandisement
cruelty and violence. The court she paid
of letters obtained a prompt repayment in
and they lavished upon her never-endin
executed plans of administration the
which a persevering and successful ex
them would alone have given her a title
satisfied with these sounds, she thought
the matter, and her name has come d
times, though close adjoining her ow
every title to respect for excellence in
partment of civil wisdom, while her
policy in foreign affairs has survived
afflicts mankind.

A woman of her commanding tal
had other holds over the favour o
than the patronage which her stat
to dispense. Beside maintaining a
envoy at Paris in the person of Gr
Diderot to St. Petersburgh, and pu

rt's library; patronised the illustrious Euler, and atified others of less fame by admitting them to e familiar society of a great monarch; but she o had abilities and information enough to relish eir conversation, and to bear her part in it upon arly equal terms. She had the manly sense, too, far superior to the demeanour of Frederic and e other spoilt children of royal nurseries, that no each of etiquette, no unbecoming familiarity of r lettered guests ever offended her pride, or used her official dignity for an instant. Diderot ed to go so far in the heat of argument as to p her on the shoulder or knee with the "*emrtement*" of a French "*savant*," and he only eited a smile in the well-natured and truly supeor person whose rank and even sex he had for e moment forgotten. Her writings, too, are by means despicable; but the difficulty of ascerining that any work published by an Empressguant proceeds from her own pen deprives criism of all interest as connected with her literary utation. The most important of her books, ined, her Instructions to the Commission for comsing a Code of Laws, published in 1770, makes tle or no pretension to originality, as whatever it s of value is closely copied from the work of ccaria. The great variety of her subjects is calated to augment our suspicions that she made oks as she made war, by deputy—by orders from

behalf, attempts upon her life [illegible]
might subvert a throne founded [illegible]
of law, and fortified by many y[illegible]
Catherine had no sooner seized [illegible]
the Czars than all her difficult[illegible]
once only or twice, during her [illegible]
thirty and forty years, was she [illegible]
any threats of a competition for [illegible]
due to the Englishwoman, that b[illegible]
ness and clemency combined shou[illegible]
these untoward circumstances. [illegible]
own safety urged her to adopt any[illegible]
or to consult her security by unle[illegible]
did she ever but once seek a ju[illegible]
less conduct in the extraordinar[illegible]
even dangers of her position. C[illegible]
walked to supreme power over he[illegible]
easily defended her sceptre by the [illegible]
which had enabled her to gra[illegible]
instance in which Elizabeth she[illegible]
for her own safety, admitted of [illegible]
could not be justified, by the co[illegible]
against her life; and the times sh[illegible]
ing assassination perilous, instead [illegible]
rival in a dungeon, she at least bro[illegible]
openly into a court of inquiry, a[illegible]
judged, executed, under colour o[illegible]
face of the world.

In one thing, and in one alone,

Englishwoman to the German must be ad-
d; and this arose from the different circum-
s of the two Sovereigns, and the feebler
rity with which the former was invested.
ugh her whole reign she was a dissembler, a
nder, a hypocrite. Whether in steering her
ed way between rival sects, or in accommo-
g herself to conflicting factions, or in pursuing
ourse she had resolved to follow amidst the
us opinions of the people, she ever displayed
gree of cunning and faithlessness which it is
ssible to contemplate without disgust. But if
be any one passage of her life which calls
this sentiment more than another, it is her
conduct respecting the execution of Mary
rt—her hateful duplicity, her execrable trea-
y towards the instruments she used and sacri-
d, her cowardly skulking behind those instru-
nts to escape the censures of the world. This
the crowning act of a whole life of despicable
d and hypocrisy; and, from the necessity of
orting to this, Catherine's more absolute power
her free: not that the Empress's history is un-
ompanied with traits of a like kind. When her
ops had sacked the suburbs of Warsaw, and con-
mated the partition of Poland by the butchery
thousands of her victims, she had the blaspheu-
us effrontery to celebrate a *Te Deum* in the
tropolitan cathedral, and to promulgate an ad-

dress to the people, professing "to cherish them the tender feelings of a mother towards offspring." It vexes the faith of pious m[illegible] witness scenes like these, and not see the [illegible] Heaven descend to smite the guilty and i[illegible] actors.

In the whole conduct of their respective g[illegible] ments it would be hard to find a greater c[illegible] than is exhibited by these two famous prin[illegible] While Catherine sacrificed everything to o[illegible] show in her domestic administration, Eli[illegible] looked ever and only to the substance; the [illegible] caring nothing how her people fared or her [illegible] were administered, so she had the appearan[illegible] splendour and filled the world with her nam[illegible] latter, intent upon the greatest service w[illegible] sovereign in her circumstances could perfor[illegible] allaying the religious dissensions that distrac[illegible] classes of her subjects, and maintaining her [illegible] independent of all foreign dictation. A[illegible] the sceptre over a barbarous people sc[illegible] through a boundless desert, Catherine fou[illegible] most formidable obstacles opposed by nat[illegible] what was obviously prescribed by the c[illegible] stances of her position as her first duty, the [illegible] ing among her rude subjects the blessings of [illegible] zation; but desirous only of the fame which [illegible] be reaped from sudden operations, and impat[illegible] the slow progress by which natural impro[illegible]

: ever proceed, she overcame not those ob-
es, and left her country in the state in which
ould have been whoever had filled her place.
eeding to the throne of a nation torn by fac-
, and ruled by a priesthood at once tyrannical
intolerant, Elizabeth, by wise forbearance,
ed to perfect steadiness of purpose, by a judi-
s use of her influence wheresoever her eye, in-
ntly watchful, perceived that her interposition
d help the right cause, above all, by teaching
sect that she would be the servant of none
e disposed to be the friend of all, and would
her support to that faith which her conscience
oved without suffering its professors to oppress
e of rival creeds, left her country in a state of
e at home as remarkable and as beneficial as
respect which her commanding talents and de-
ined conduct imposed on foreign nations.
he aggrandisement of the Russian empire dur-
Catherine's time, at once the monument of her
t crimes and the source of the influence ever
exerted by her successors over the affairs of
ope, has been felt by all the other powers as
just punishment of their folly in permitting
nd to be despoiled, and by none more than
who were the accomplices in that foul trans-
n. It is almost the only part of her adminis-
on that remains to signalise her reign; but as
as mankind persist in preferring for the sub-

of their eulogies mighty feats of power, o
eful and virtuous policy, the Empress Catherine's
ame will be commemorated as synonymous wi
reatness. The services of Elizabeth to her peop
re of a far higher order; it is probable that th
owe to her the maintenance of their national in
pendence; and it is a large increase of the debt
gratitude thus incurred to this great princess,
ruling for half a century of troublous times,
ruled in almost uninterrupted peace, while b
vigour of her councils, and the firmness of her
culine spirit, she caused the alliance of Engl
be courted, and her name feared by all surrou
nations.

If, finally, we apply to these two Sovereig
surest test of genius and the best measure of
in their exalted station—the comparative
the men by whom they were served—the
sinks into insignificance, while the Engli
shines with surpassing lustre. Among
ters who served Catherine, it would be
name one of whom the lapse of forty ye
any remembrance: but as Elizabeth m
man of inferior, hardly one of middling
her service, so to this day, at the dist
tween two and three centuries, when an
refer to the greatest statesmen in th
England, he turns instinctively to the
of the Virgin Queen.

APPENDIX.

I.

ss of a most accomplished and venerable person,
t of a former age, and fortunately still preserved
the present (1836), has permitted the insertion
ving interesting note:—
nstance attended Lord Chatham's eloquent in-
nst our employment of the Indians in the Ame-
which we have not handed down to us along
which could hardly fail to be noticed at the
very same thing had been done in the former
on in Canada by his authority and under his
ate superintendence; the French had arrayed a
se savage warriors against us, and we, without
ayed another against them. This he thought
n the most positive manner, although the mi-
ed to produce documents written by himself
it from among the papers at the Secretary's
arm debate ensued, and at length Lord Am-
eneral who had commanded our troops in that
ar, was so loudly appealed to on all sides, that
l him to rise, and, most unwillingly (for he
ected Lord Chatham), falter out a few words;
vever, to acknowledge the fact—a fact admitted
nd even assumed by the opposition lords who
rards. They seemed to lay the question quietly
s it concerned Lord Chatham's veracity, and

only insisted upon the difference between the t
the one foreign, the other civil; arguing also
might have been under some necessity of using r
since the French certainly first began the practice
abhorred. The Annual Register for 1777 states,
Burke took the same course in the House of Com

"Upon hearing what had passed in the House
Lord Bute exclaimed with astonishment—'Did F
deny it?—Why, I have letters of his still by me
Io Pæans over the advantages we gained thro
Indian allies.' Could what he thus said have be
when it was almost a soliloquy spoken rather *betw*
his wife and daughters, the only persons prese
letters he mentioned were probably neither offic
fidential, but such common notes as might pas
him and Lord Chatham while still upon a footing
intimacy.

"It must be observed that, in 1777, Lord Bute
withdrawn from all political connexions, lived in
tirement, and had no intercourse whatever with
then in power."

II.

The following very interesting letter is from the
and only surviving daughter of Lord North. All
upon its merits or its value is superfluous:—

"My dear Lord Brougham,

"You mentioned to me the other night your
of writing the character of my father, to be pla
some other characters of the statesmen of the la
that you are preparing for the press, and at the
stated the difficulty of describing a man of whom
had no personal knowledge. This conversatio
duced me to cast back my mind to the days of
hood and early youth, that I may give you su

s of my father's private life as those recollections will rd.

Lord North was born in April, 1733; he was educated Eton school, and then at Trinity College, Oxford; and completed his academical studies with the reputation of ıg a very accomplished and elegant classical scholar. then passed three years upon the Continent, residing ccessively in Germany, Italy, and France, and acquiring languages of those countries, particularly of the last. spoke French with great fluency and correctness; this uirement, together with the observations he had made n the men and manners of the countries he had visited, e him what Madame de Staël called *l'esprit Européen*, l enabled him to be as agreeable a man in Paris, Naples, l Vienna as he was in London. Among the lighter ac-aplishments he acquired upon the Continent was that of cing: I have been told that he danced the most graceful uet of any young man of his day: this, I must own, prised me, who remember him only with a corpulent vy figure, the movements of which were rendered more tward and were impeded by his extreme near-sighted-s before he became totally blind. In his youth, how-r, his figure was slight and slim; his face was always n, but agreeable, owing to its habitual expression of erfulness and good humour; though it gave no indication he brightness of his understanding.

Soon after his return to England, at the age of twenty-e, he was married to Miss Speck, of Whitelackington k, Somersetshire, a girl of sixteen; she was plain in her son, but had excellent good sense; and was blessed with gular mildness and placidity of temper. She was also deficient in humour, and her conversational powers were no means contemptible; but she, like the rest of the rld, delighted in her husband's conversation, and being nature shy and indolent, was contented to be a happy ener during his life, and after his death her spirits were

too much broken down for her to care what she
ther they had been in love with each other wh
ried I don't know, but I am sure there never
happy union than theirs during the thirty-six
lasted. I never saw an unkind look, or heard
word pass between them, his affectionate atta
was as unabated, as her love and admiration of

"Lord North came into office first, as one of
the Treasury, I believe, about the year 1770, an
was appointed as one of the Joint Paymasters
he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and
after First Lord of the Treasury. He never
us to call him Prime Minister, saying, there
thing in the British Constitution. He contin
thirteen years; during the three last he was
to retire, but he suffered himself to be over
earnest entreaties of George III. that he sh
At length, the declining majorities in the Ho
mons made it evident that there must be a cha
try, and the King was obliged reluctantly to
resignation. This was a great relief to his
although I do not believe that my father ever
any doubt as to the justice of the American
sure that he wished to have made peace three
its termination. I perfectly recollect the sa
pressed by my mother and my elder sisters
tion, and my own astonishment at it; bein

* An anecdote is related of his Paymastership
point, though in homely col as his habitual
He was somewhat disappointed at finding h
who was to divide the emoluments of the offi
then strictly prized for its large perquisites
took possession of the official house and
hall, and Lord North, ringing for the
be sure, in clearing the mahogany away, that
of it to his colleague, as it was a perquisite
office.—Editor.

ven years old, and hearing in the nursery the
ns of the women about 'My Lord's going out of
is., the power of making their husbands tide-
thought going out of power must be a sad thing,
ll the family were crazy to rejoice at it!
ardly necessary to say that Lord North was per-
n handed and pure in money matters, and that he
a poorer man than when he came into it. His
ıg still living at that time, his income would have
ovided for the education and maintenance of his
en, and for the support of his habitual, though
ious hospitality, but the office of Lord Warden of
.e Ports becoming vacant, the King conferred it
His circumstances, by this means, became ade-
is wishes, as he had no expensive tastes, or love of
; but he was thoroughly liberal, and had great
: in social intercourse, which even in those days
o be had without expense. Lord North did not
inue out of office, the much criticised Coalition
ıce the year following, 1783. The proverb says,
y acquaints us with strange bedfellows:' it is no
hat dislike of a third party reconciles adversaries.
brother was a Whig by nature, and an enthusi-
irer of Mr. Fox; he, together with Mr. Adam,
Eden (afterwards Lord Auckland), were, I believe,
promoters of the Coalition. My mother, I re-
was averse to it, not that she troubled her head
g a Tory or a Whig, but she feared it would com-
ıer husband's political consistency. I do not pre-
ve any opinion upon this subject, having been too
the time to form any, and since I grew up I have
een too decided a Whig myself to be a fair judge.
istry, in which Mr. Fox was at the head of the
Lord North of the Home Office, and the Duke of
of the Treasury, lasted but a few months: in 1784
began his long administration. My father, after

he was out of office, attended Parliament, a
spoke and voted, independent of the opinion
allies, but this made no difference in the
their friendship, which remained unimpaired
his life

"I will now attempt to give you my impr
father's style of conversation and character i
His wit was of the most genuine and playful
lated *narrat*) remarkably well, and liked com
literary subjects; yet so completely were all
dients mixed and amalgamated by good ta
would never have described him as a sayer o
a teller of good stories, or as a man of litera
most agreeable member of society and truly de
panion. His manners were those of a high-bre
particularly easy and natural; indeed, good
so marked a part of his character, that it woul
affectation in him to have been otherwise th
With such good taste and good breeding, his
not fail to be of the best sort always amusin
wounding. He was the least fastidious of me
the happy art of extracting any good that th
extracted out of anybody. He never would be
call people *bores*, and I remember the trium
the family, when, after a tedious visit from
and empty man, he exclaimed, 'Well, that
sufferable bore!' He used frequently to have
of foreigners and distinguished persons to dine
Bushy Park. He was himself the life and
parties. To have seen him then, you would
he was there in his true element. Yet I think
really more enjoyment when he went into the
Saturday and Sunday, with only his own fam
two intimate friends he then entered into all
fun of his children, was the companion and in
of his elder sons and daughters, and the merry

fellow of his little girl, who was five years younger n any of the others. To his servants he was a most d and indulgent master: if provoked by stupidity or im-tinence, a few hasty, impatient words might escape him; I never saw him *really out of humour.* He had a aken, stupid groom, who used to provoke him; and o, from this uncommon circumstance, was called by the ldren 'the man that puts papa in a passion;' and I think continued all his life putting papa in a passion, and being given, for I believe he died in his service.

'In the year 1787 Lord North's sight began rapidly to l him, and in the course of a few months he became lly blind, in consequence of a palsy on the optic nerve. s nerves had always been very excitable, and it is pro-le that the anxiety of mind which he suffered during unsuccessful contest with America, still more than his ssary application to writing, brought on this calamity, ch he bore with the most admirable patience and resig-on; nor did it affect his general cheerfulness in society. the privation of all power of dissipating his mind by ward objects or of solitary occupation could not fail to luce at times extreme depression of spirits, especially as malady proceeded from the disordered state of his ves. These fits of depression seldom occurred, except ing sleepless nights, when my mother used to read to , until he was amused out of them, or put to sleep.

In the evenings, in Grosvenor-square, our house was the rt of the best company that London afforded at that e. Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Mr. Sheridan, occasionally; Lord Stormont, Lord John Townshend, Mr. Windham, James Erskine, afterwards Lord Rosslyn, his uncle, a Lord Loughborough, habitually frequented our draw-room: these, with various young men and women, his ldren's friends, and whist-playing ladies for my mother, pleted the society. My father always liked the com-y of young people, especially of young women who were

were his constant companions.

"In 1792 his health began to decli
and his appetite; his legs swelled, and
were apparent. At last, after a peculi
questioned his friend and physician,
him not to conceal the truth the resul
ren owned that water had formed ap
could not live many days, and that a fe
period to his existence. He received
with firmness and pious resignation, bu
the serenity and cheerfulness of his ma
hour, during the remaining ten days o
return of depression of spirits. The
when aware of his immediate dang
Mr. John Robinson (commonly known
Rat-catcher and Lord Auckland migh
being the only two of his political fri
had hurt and offended him, he wished
shake hands cordially, and to forgive th

ired to have the French newspapers read to him, t time they were filled with alarming symptoms of rors that shortly after ensued. Upon hearing them, l, 'I am going, and thankful I am that I shall not the anarchy and bloodshed which will soon over- that unhappy country.' He expired on the 5th of t, 1792.

rd North was a truly pious Christian; and (although is political view of the subject) I believe that one of t speeches he made in Parliament was against the of the Test Act, yet his religion was quite free from r or intolerance, and consisted more in the beautiful f Christian benevolence than in outward and formal nces. His character in private life was, I believe, tless as that of any human being can be; and those of his public life which appear to have been the estionable, proceeded, I am entirely convinced, from me must own was a weakness, though not an unamie, and which followed him through his life, the want er to resist the influence of those he loved.

"I remain,

"My dear Lord,

"Gratefully and sincerely yours,

Green-street, "CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

uary the 18th, 1839."

III.

Elizabeth's Conduct to Mary, Queen of Scots.

whole subject of Mary's conduct has been involved in versy, chiefly by the partisans of the House of Stuart

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his Appendix has been added in deference to the sug- n of a friend, whose sound judgment and correct taste titled to command all respect, and who considered that just view would be given of Elizabeth's conduct if no ons were made to the sketch in the text.

after the Revolution, and somewhat also by the
of the Catholic party in both England and S
her part as an enemy of the Reformed religion
conduct towards her is also in a considerable
made the subject of political disputation. Bu
he affirmed that there are certain facts, wh
doubted, which indeed even the most violent
both those Princesses have all along admitt
tend to throw a great, though certainly a very
gree of blame upon both. —Let us first of all
questioned facts.

1. It is certain that Darnley, Mary's second
foully murdered and equally certain that Ma
rally suspected, and was openly charged, as
in the murder, if not the contriver of the crim

2. Yet it is equally certain that, instead of
active steps to bring the perpetrators to punishm
both by conjugal duty and by a just desire to
stain affixed to her character, she allowed a m
to take place which outraged every princip
while she refused Lennox the father's offers of
convict the murderers.

3. Bothwell had only of late been admitte
mate society; he was a man of coarse manners
character, universally accused and now know
been the principal in the murder. No one pr
time seriously to doubt his guilt; yet immedia
event she married him, and married him with
fraud, a pretence of being forced to it, so
could deceive nobody, and so gross as only to b
the still grosser passion which actuated her wh

4. That he was married when their intim
not denied. Nor is it doubted that she conse
him before his former marriage had been disso

5. The divorce which dissolved it was hur
the Courts in four days, by the grossest fraud

the parties. Hence Mary was as much guilty
in marrying him as was the Duchess of Kingston
ries later—for the Duchess produced also a senten
tion *a mensâ et thoro* in her defence, obtained w
ably greater formality—but obtained through
nd therefore considered as a nullity—and she
ly convicted of the felony.

se acts of Mary's were of so abominable a nat
rational men were turned away from supporti
her deposition was almost a matter of course in
or indeed in any civilised country.

regards Elizabeth.

en Mary took refuge in England, all her previ
t gave Elizabeth no kind of title to detain her
, nor any right even to deliver her up as a prison
uest of the Scots, had they demanded her.

eeping her a prisoner for twenty years under
exts, Elizabeth gave her ample licence and
ification for whatever designs she might form
r liberty.

conspiracy of Norfolk looked only to the
her street rights, the restoration of her person
nd her marriage with that ill-fated nobleman
was willing to solemnise as soon as she could
from Bothwell, who having lived for some years
herwards died mad in a Danish prison.

ington's conspiracy included rebellion and also
ion of Elizabeth, and great and certainly v
ains are taken by Mary's partisans to relat
her having joined in it. She, indeed, never p
resent the proof that she was a party to the con
neral, she only denied her knowledge of the p
ssination. But supposing her to have been
of that, it seems not too relaxed a view of duty
one sovereign princess detained unjustifiably
by another for twenty years, has a right to

even extreme measures of revenge. In self-defence are justifiable, and Mary had no other means th the knife against her oppressor

5. For this accession to Babington's conspiracy she was brought to trial by that oppressor, who h every principle of justice and every form of law, her a prisoner for twenty years.

6. Being convicted on this trial, the sentence w by Elizabeth's express authority; although, wit cation of falsehood utterly disgusting, and which character up to the scorn of mankind in all age tended that it had been done without her leave her will, and basely ruined the unfortunate man ing to her commands, had conveyed to be exe orders she had signed with her own hand.

The pretence upon which the proceeding of the the most plausibly be defended, is, that a Fore while in this country, like all foreigners within is subject to the municipal law, and may be puni violation. This, however, is a groundless posit even if the Foreign Prince were voluntarily here for not even his representative, his ambassador, i our laws, either civil or criminal, as a statute de the former law has distinctly laid down,* altho earlier period Cromwell hanged one for murder. be said that this part of international law had n settled in the sixteenth century, at all events i known then that no power can have a right to person of a Foreign Prince and detain him pri that, consequently, if so detained, that Foreign P no allegiance to the laws of the realm.

But although Elizabeth's conduct towards Ma wholly unjustifiable, and fixes a deep stain upon h (blackened still more by the gross falsehood and

* The Stat. 7 Anne, c. 12.

rith which it was thickly covered over), it may nevertheless e said that she merits the commendation of having acted gainst her kinswoman with open hostility, and sacrificed her y the forms at least of a trial, instead of procuring her life o be privately taken away. A little reflection will remove ny such argument used in mitigation of her crime. That he preferred murder by due course of law to murder by poison, was the merit of the age rather than of the person. Two centuries, perhaps one, earlier, she would have used the secret services of the gaoler in preference to the public prostitution of the judge. But she knew that Mary's death, if it happened in prison, even in the course of nature, would always be charged upon her as its author; and she was unwilling to load her name with the shame, even if she cared not how her conscience might be burdened with the guilt. She was well aware, too, of the formidable party which Mary had in the country, and dreaded not only to exasperate the Catholic body, but to furnish them with the weapons against herself which so great an outrage on the feelings of mankind would have placed in their hands. Besides, she well knew that the trial was a matter of easy execution and of certain result. She was delivered over, not to a judge and jury acting under the authority of the law in its ordinary course of administration, but to forty peers and privy councillors, selected by Elizabeth herself, whose very numbers, by dividing the responsibility, made their submission to the power that appointed them a matter of perfect ease, and the conviction of Mary an absolute certainty. In every view, then, which can be taken of the case, little credit can accrue to Elizabeth for preferring a mode of destroying her rival quite as easy, quite as sure, and far more safe, than any other: Not to mention that it must be a strange kind of honour which can stoop to seek the wretched credit of having declined to commit a midnight murder, rather than destroy the victim by an open trial.

If, then, it be asked upon what grounds Elizabeth's me-

mory has escaped the execration so justly du
answer is found not merely in the splendour o
actions, and the great success of her long reign
cumstances of extraordinary difficulty, but rathe
vious bad conduct of Mary—the utter scorn
mankind held her except those whom personal
or religious frenzy blinded—the certain effect
opening the eyes of even those zealots, when her
able conduct came to be considered—and ch
belief that she, who was supposed to have jo
assassination of her own husband, and was admi
married his brutal murderer while his hands
reeking with blood, had also been a party to a pl
dinating the English queen. These considerati
unnaturally operated on men's minds against th
Elizabeth's crooked and cruel policy; and it is
able consequence of sympathy for the oppressed
ened, that the hatred of the oppressor is diminis
portion.

The foregoing statements have proceeded up
of assuming no facts as true respecting the condu
Mary or Elizabeth, excepting those which are
admitted, and which have indeed never been d
at the time or in the heats engendered by sub
troversy. The result is against both those fam
loading the memory of the one with a degree
which no woman of ordinary feeling could end
ing the other to the gravest charges of perfidy a
But it would be giving a very imperfect view
conduct were we to stop at these admitted facts.

The proofs against her in respect of Darnle
although not sufficient to convict her in a court
are quite decisive of her guilt, when the quest
pounded as one of historical evidence. Indeed
safely affirmed, that no disputed point of histori
upon stronger evidence. The arguments to prov

first principles of the law of evidence,
speaks of do not even exist; there is no
mentioned in his enumeration of proofs;
of Mr Hume's acuteness could fancy th
confesses behind a prisoner's back that
person say to that prisoner, or rather th
showed him ciphered letters not produced
could be anything like evidence to affect
nishing, and shows how dangerous a thin
most expert in his own line to pronou
matters beyond it.

END OF VOL. II.